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ABSTRACT

The seventh volume of this series contains five articles dealing with various aspects of Serbo-Croatian-English contrastive analysis. They are: "The English Gerund as a Subject and its Serbo-Croatian Structural Equivalents," by Ljiljana Bibovic; "Relators," by Vladimir Ivir, D. McMillan and T. Merz; "The Source of Relative Clauses," by Ljiljana Mihailovic; "Some Predicate Complement Constructions in English and Their Equivalents in Serbo-Croatian," by Draginja Pervaz; and "Adverbials with Transitive Verbs in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Radmila Sevic. (CLK)

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THE YUGOSLAV SERBO-CROATIAN - ENGLISH
CONTRASTIVE PROJECT
Director: Professor Rudolf Filipović, Ph. D.

A. REPORTS
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THE ENGLISH GERUND AS A SUBJECT AND ITS SERBO-CROATIAN STRUCTURAL EQUIVALENTS[1]

1.1. According to Zandvoort (1960:24) "nouns in ing with verbal meaning, or with verbal meaning and functions combined, are called gerunds." One of the syntactic properties of the gerund that classifies it as a noun is its capacity to stand in the subject position. The verbal properties of the gerund are displayed by its capacity to be used in the perfect tense and in the passive voice. Like a verb it can be modified by an adverb and like a verb it can have complements. The following sentence illustrates both the nominal and verbal properties of the gerund:

(1) Planning the campaign carefully will produce good results. (Birk, 1959:59)

The gerund planning has an object (the campaign) as well as an adverbial modifier (carefully) and the whole gerund phrase serves as the subject of the sentence.

The forms of the gerund are the following:[2]

ACTIVE		PASSIVE	
Ordinary	Perfect	Ordinary	Perfect
taking	having taken	being taken	having been taken

It is also possible to have the form having been taking (having been being taken) but, as it is much rarer in use, it will not be considered in this paper.

1.2. The form in ing followed by a noun-adjunct with of (the building of the house) is also considered to be the gerund by Zandvoort and many other grammarians. Others call it 'the verbal noun' (cf. Deutschbein, 1917:149, Raith, 1959:154, Kaušanskaja et al., 1959:184, Vallins, 1966:79). Lees (1960:64 ff.) also distinguishes between the gerund and 'the verbal noun', labelling the latter 'Action Nominal.' This type of gerund will not be considered in this paper, though certain transforms of it will be covered such as child rearing (derived from the rearing of children; cf. Lees, 1963:152).

1.3. The term 'gerund' (gerundij or gerundijum) is no longer used in Serbo-Croatian grammar, though Maretić (1963:656ff.) still uses it to denote verbal forms used adverbially, such as plačući (mati mu plačući odgovori). These forms will not be considered in this paper, as they in no sense correspond to the gerund in English.

2.1. There are three structural equivalents in Serbo-Croatian to the gerund in English, each of which will be treated separately. The English gerund may be rendered in SC as

(a) the verbal noun ending in -nje or other nouns
(b) the infinitive
(c) a clause

The occurrence of each of these is dependent on various factors.

2.2. In the following sentence

(2) Writing calms me down a lot (The Guardian, 28 July 1971)
(2SC) Pisanje me veoma smiruje

the Serbo-Croatian equivalent of the English gerund is a noun derived from a

verb by adding the ending -je (pleten + je = pletenje; kupovan + je = kupovanje; cf. Maretić, 1963:344). According to Maretić (Maretić, 1963:344) such a noun may be derived from any imperfective verb (cf. Vuković, 1949:43). If the verb is used with se this is dropped. There are also quite a number derived from perfective verbs. The latter do not correspond to gerunds in English, but to real nouns, derived from verbs, such as: dopuštenje : permission / poniženje : humiliation / saopštenje : announcement / priznanje : confession or recognition / prividjenje : apparition / saznanje : realization.

The verbal noun in -nje denotes a verbal action viewed as a process; according to Vuković (Vuković, 1949:42) it expresses the verbal idea without specifying an agent[3] or relating it to the time of speaking. The gerund in English may be used in the same way. Compare:

(3) Running is his favourite sport
(3SC) Trčanje je njegov omiljen sport.

Adverbial modifiers are sometimes rendered in Serbo-Croatian by an adjective preceding the verbal noun, e.g.:

(4) Running every day keeps him fit
(4SC) Svakodnevno trčanje ga održava u kondiciji.

(5) Sitting for a long time is very tiring
(5SC) Dugo sedenje je veoma zamorno.

But: (6) Sleeping in the afternoon can be harmful
(6SC) Spavanje popodne može da škodi
(6aSC) Popodnevno spavanje može da škodi.

Adverbials of place are in the same position in both languages: (but cf. 2.3)

(7) Reading in bed is bad for the eyes
(7SC) Čitanje u krevetu je štetno za oči.

The object of the verbal noun in -nje is in the genitive if the verb requires the accusative. Compare: čitati stare tekstove: on čita stare tekstove : čitanje starih tekstova. Note the following examples:

(8) Reading old texts is a slow process
(8SC) Čitanje starih tekstova dug je proces.

But with those verbs which govern cases other than the accusative the original case is retained:

(9) Governing a country is a responsible task
(9SC) Upravljanje državom je odgovoran zadatak.

(Compare: on upravlja državom : he governs the country)

(10) Conducting an orchestra is a thrilling job
(10SC) Dirigovanje orkestrom je uzbudljiv posao.

Prepositional objects following the verbal noun in -nje remain in the same case:

(11) Searching for examples is a big job
(11SC) Traganje za primerima je veliki posao

(cf. On traga za primerima).

As Lees has shown (Lees, 1963:152-153), some gerunds preceded by nouns display the relation verb to object, e.g. atom smashing. Since these can occur in the subject position, it is worth mentioning here that Serbo-Croatian does not allow an object to be preposed in the same way. The object in SC always follows the verbal noun in -nje, as the following pairs will show:

corn growing	gajenje kukuruza
atom smashing	razbijanje atoma
child rearing	podizanje dece
news broadcasting	emitovanje vesti
drug taking	uzimanje (uživanje) droga

Again, the object of the verbal noun in -nje is in the genitive if the verb, otherwise, requires the accusative, i.e. podizati decu, on podiže decu, but podizanje dece. This is, however, not always the case if the noun does not end in -nje. In the following example the original accusative becomes a prepositional object (na governs the accusative):

loviti medvede, on lovi medvede

but: lov na medvede (bear hunting).

Notice that instead of a noun in -nje (lovljenje) the usual SC equivalent to hunting is lov.

The SC equivalent to bull fighting retains the original case of the object, i.e. boriti se sa bikovima, on se bori sa bikovima, as well as borba sa bikovima. Again, instead of borenje, the usual SC equivalent to fighting is borba.

Apart from the nouns ending in -nje there are other derived nouns in SC corresponding to the English gerund. Though it may be argued that this is a problem of lexis rather than grammar, the investigation has shown that there are fairly regular derivational patterns in SC, all of them corresponding to one grammatical category in English, that is, the gerund.

1) To the gerund in English denoting various human activities (e.g. sports, arts, branches of industry) often corresponds a SC noun ending in -stvo, usually derived from a noun denoting an agent, e.g.

fruit	voće
fruit grower	voć-ar
fruit growing	voćar-stvo

Any of these nouns may function as a subject, e.g.

(12) Pig raising is highly developed in Vojvodina
(12SC) Svinjogojstvo je veoma razvijeno u Vojvodini.

(a) The English gerund without a preposed object	SC nouns ending in -stvo
gardening	baštovanstvo (or: vrtarstvo, vrtlarstvo)
farming	ratarstvo
fishing	ribarstvo[4]
gliding	jedriličarstvo
mining	rudarstvo
painting	slikarstvo
shipping (also: shipping industry)	brodarstvo
shooting	streljaštvo

A gerund corresponding to a SC noun in -stvo can be modified by an adjective, e.g.:

mechanical engineering	mašinstvo
civil engineering	gradjevinarstvo

There are, of course, many exceptions. The English gerund in question often corresponds to some other type of noun in SC, e.g.

acting	gluma
engraving	grafika
gambling	kocka (also: kockanje)
hydraulic engineering	hidroenergetika
skiing	skijanje, smučanje
physical training	fiskultura
preconscription training	predvojnička obuka
teaching	nastava

Conversely, the SC noun ending in -stvo belonging to this semantic area does not always correspond to the gerund in English. Compare:

vajarstvo	sculpture
grnčarstvo	pottery
gusarstvo	piracy
stolarstvo	carpentry
šumarstvo	forestry

(b) The English gerund with an object	SC nouns ending in -stvo
cattle raising, cattle breeding	govedarstvo
pig raising	svinjarstvo, svinjogojstvo (more frequent)
poultry raising	živinarstvo
sheep raising	ovčarstvo
goat breeding	kozarstvo
silkworm breeding	svilarstvo
flower growing	cvećarstvo
fruit growing	voćarstvo
vegetable growing	povrtarstvo
grape growing	vinogradarstvo
wine making	vinarstvo
beekeeping	pčelarstvo
bookkeeping	knjigovodstvo
shoe making	obućarstvo
law-making (also: legislature)	zakonodavstvo
meat processing	mesarstvo
glass manufacturing	staklarstvo (but usually industrija stakla)
bricklaying	zidarstvo
basket weaving	pletarstvo, košarstvo

Here, again, there are many exceptions; e.g.

dictionary making	izrada rečnika
(lexicography)	(leksikografija)
dressmaking	krojački zanat
map making (cartography)	izrada mapa (kartografija)
movie making (the film industry)	snimanje filmova (filmska industrija)
proofreading	korektura
copyreading, editing	lektura
foreign language teaching	nastava stranih jezika
stocktaking	inventar

2) There are several SC deverbal nouns ending in -ba or -dba corresponding to the gerund in English. Compare:

fighting	borba
picking	berba
(normally with an object, e.g. apple picking : berba jabuka)	
husking	krunidba
mowing, haymaking	kosidba
shipping, e.g. coastal shipping	plovidba (obalska plovidba)
threshing	vršidba

3) A few SC deverbal nouns ending in -nja correspond to the gerund in English. Compare:

begging	prošnja[5]
building	gradnja (also: gradjenje)
raving	klapnja, tlapnja
suffering	patnja

yearning, longing	čežnja, žudnja
walking	šetnja

Suffering, yearning and longing can be real nouns as they are capable of being pluralized (sufferings, yearnings, longings), which is also true of their SC equivalents (patnje, čežnje, ?žudnje). But in the following examples they are used as gerunds:

(13) Suffering for his late wife made him ill.
(13SC) Razboleo se od patnje za svojom pokojnom ženom.

(14) Yearning for home spoiled his holiday abroad.
(14SC) Čežnja za kućom pokvarila mu je godišnji odmor u inostranstvu.

Notice that walking can be rendered either as hodanje (pešačenje) (especially if walking is thought of as a sport) or as šetnja (sometimes also šetanje).

Compare:

(15) Walking is good exercise
(15SC) Pešačenje je korisna telesna vežba (or: hodanje)

(16) Walking through the park did him a lot of good
(16SC) Šetnja kroz park mu je vecma prijala.

4) There are not many SC deverbal nouns ending in -njava, but they usually correspond to the gerund in English, e.g.

jostling, shoving	gurnjava
shooting, firing	pucnjava
wailing	kuknjava

5) It is not uncommon that the SC equivalents to the gerund in English are nouns sharing a common root with the corresponding verbs, such as:

crying	plakanje	plač	(plakati)
shouting	vikanje	vika	(vikati)
screaming, shrieking	cikanje, vriskanje	cika, vriska	(cikati, vriskati)

quarrelling	svadjanje	svadja	(svadjati se)
cooing	gugutanje	gugut	(gugutati)
giggling	kikotanje	kikot	(kikotati se)
chirping, twittering	cvrkutanje	cvrkut	(cvrkutati)

Compare:

(17) A child's crying was heard from the next room
(17SC) Iz susedne sobe se čuo dečji plač.

5) While the gerunds of the former group can be rendered in SC either as a verbal noun in -nje or as a noun sharing the common root with the corresponding verb, there are gerunds in English which are preferably or exclusively rendered as the latter. Note the following examples:

(18) Horse stealing is common in New Mexico
(18SC) Krađja konja je česta u Novom Meksiku.
(*kradenje)

Though possible, the form kradenje is very rarely used.

The verbal noun laganje (lying) is much more frequent, but it is only the noun laž which can be used in the SC equivalent of the following English sentence:

(19) Lying is a vice
(19SC) Laž je porok.

But in the SC equivalent of the English sentence

(20) Lying makes me tired
(20SC) Laganje me zamara

laganje must be used if the active meaning of the verbal action is to be expressed.

2.3. It should be noted that in a few cases the English gerund can be preceded by a modifier which in the underlying structure represents an adverbial of place. In Serbo-Croatian the corresponding modifier follows the verbal

noun:

ice-skating	klizanje na ledu
rope-walking	igranje na konopcu

Mountain-climbing is either planinarenje or planinarstvo in SC. Both are used to denote 'mountain-climbing' as a sport, but only planinarenje is used to denote the verbal action as a process.

Shoplifting is another example of a gerund with a preposed adverbial of place; in SC the modifier duly follows the noun: kradja po dućanima.

Sleepwalking is a rather special instance of a gerund with a preceding modifier (cf. walking in one's sleep); the SC equivalent is a noun ending in -stvo: mesečarstvo (though hodanje u snu is also possible).

It is interesting that a few English gerunds have been borrowed and appear in SC as dribling (dribbling), trening (training), erkondišn (airconditioning), and the very recent inženjering (engineering design and construction). Lynching is linč and flirting is flert in SC, though linčovanje and flertovanje also exist.

2.4. The Serbo-Croatian infinitive often corresponds to the gerund in English; the verbal noun in -nje, as well as other nouns, can sometimes be replaced by the infinitive as in (8SC):

(21SC) Čitati stare tekstove dug je proces.

In the following examples the infinitive is the only possibility:

(22) Doing nothing is tedious
(22SC) Dosadno je ništa ne raditi

(23) Being a teacher is not easy
(23SC) Nije lako biti nastavnik.

Two gerunds connected by the verb to be are always rendered as the SC infinitive:

(24) Seeing is believing
(24SC) Videti znači verovati.

Notice that be in the English sentence cannot be rendered as biti in SC:

* Videti je verovati.

The gerund is used colloquially in E as the citation form of a verb:

(25) They interpolated some extra words.
- What's interpolating? What does interpolating mean?

(25SC) Interpolirali su neke dodatne reči.
- Šta (to) znači interpolirati?[6]

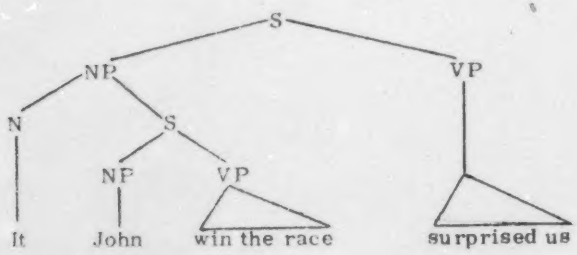
2.5. "One of the most outstanding features characterizing the English sentence", says Joseph Vachek (Vachek, 1955:63), "is the tendency to word its predications nominally rather than verbally." Following his predecessor, the great Czech linguist Mathesius, Vachek compares this tendency of English to some other European languages (one of them Modern Czech) which show a preference for verbal predication.

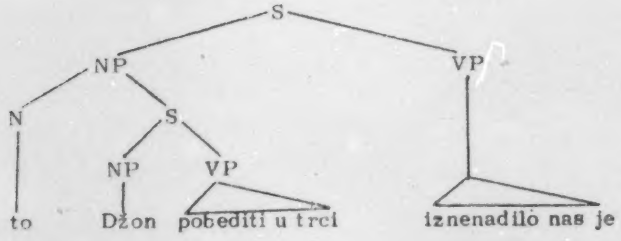
This tendency of English to avoid verbal predication has been named 'complex condensation' by the Czech linguists. According to Mathesius (cf. Vachek, 1955:74), three types of nominal expressions derived from verbal bases, viz. participles, infinitives and gerunds, play an important part in English complex condensation.

Transformational- generative grammarians hold a similar view: they see gerunds, infinitives and participles as underlying sentences which are

transformed through a series of operations. The result is, obviously, a kind of condensation: whole sentences become nominal expressions. The main difference between Czech and English is that the former does not allow the same amount of complex condensation. The same is true of SC. This becomes obvious if we compare the English gerund with the clause in SC which is one of its structure equivalents. From the point of view of transformational-generative grammar, it may be argued that these two languages differ in that the one allows the application of a nominalizing transformation, whereas the other does not. The underlying structure is the same, as is shown in the following diagrams representing the sentences

(26) John's having won the race surprised us
(26SC) Iznenadilo nas je to što je Džon pobedio u trci.





A clause can be derived from the same deep structure in both languages; thus, the insertion of the complementizer that into the complement sentence and the subsequent deletion of it results in

(27) That John had won the race surprised us

or, alternatively, the extraposition of the complement sentence results in

(28) It surprised us that John had won the race.

In the deep structure of the SC sentence the insertion of the complementizer što results in

(29SC) To što je Džon pobedio u trci iznenadilo nas je

and the inversion of the subject and the predicate required by the rules of SC word order results in the more natural (26SC)

Iznenadilo nas je to što je Džon pobedio u trci.

The insertion of the complementizer poss-ing into the complement sentence in the deep structure of the English sentence results in (26).

This interpretation applies only to factive predicates[7], such as surprise, annoy, worry, and the like. The subject NP, then, dominates the noun 'fact' at a deeper level of representation (according to Kiparsky and Kiparsky, 1971:356).

In the case of non-factive predicates, such as unlikely, the complementizer da is introduced into the SC sentence so that the sentence

(30) His winning the race is unlikely (Vendler, 1968:42)

as well as its two alternatives

(30a) It is unlikely that he will win the race

(30b) That he will win the race is unlikely

is rendered as

(30SC) Nema izgleda da će pobediti u trci.

Here are some more examples of both factive and non-factive predicates:

Factive predicates

the gerund in English — a clause introduced by (to) što in SC

(31) Lending him the car was a mistake. (Birk, 1959:148)
(31SC) Pogrešili smo (ste, su) što smo (ste, su) mu pozajmili kola.

Since the unspecified subject of the gerund has been deleted, the person and the number of the subject will be clear from the context. In the SC sentence the person and the number are important for the agreement of the verb with its subject in person, number and gender.

(32) The ring being expensive did not worry him at all.
(32SC) To što je prsten bio skup nije ga uopšte brinulo.

This example shows that the inversion of the subject clause and the predicate in SC need not be obligatory.

Non-factive predicates

the gerund in English — a clause introduced by da in SC

(33) His having won the race is a fact (Vendler, 1968:42)
(33SC) Činjenica je da je pobedio u trci
(or: Da je pobedio u trci - činjenica je)

(33) and (33SC) well illustrate the difference between factive and non-factive predicates. Here the speaker does not presuppose that the underlying sentence is a fact - he asserts it. The SC sentence duly has the complementizer da rather than (to) što.

But consider the following sentences:

(34) His having lost the race is a disaster
(34SC) Katastrofalno je da je izgubio trku.

In (34SC), although the predicate is factive, we have the complementizer da rather than (to) što. Speakers vary in use between

(35aSC) Iznenadilo nas je da je dobio trku
(35bSC) Iznenadilo nas je što je dobio trku

and there is a tendency to use da wherever da and što are interchangeable. But there are cases where (to) što is obligatory and cannot be replaced by da. Compare:

(36aSC) To što je prsten bio skup nije ga uopšte brinulo
(36bSC) *Da je prsten bio skup nije ga uopšte brinulo

(37aSC) Pogrešili smo što smo mu pozajmili kola
(37bSC) *Pogrešili smo da smo mu pozajmili kola.

It seems that most emotive complements[8] allow both the complementizer da and što, which explains why the sentence with the verb surprise and, possibly, (34SC) can have either. Non-emotive factive complements, on the other hand, cannot have da, which explains the ungrammaticality of (36bSC) and (37bSC).

2.6. In SC there is a kind of condensation which sometimes corresponds to the gerund in English. One of these is the abstract noun in -ost. M. Pavlović (Pavlović, 1972:168) distinguishes between those derived from adjectives, such as veselost, gordost, živost, živahnost, jakost, radost, stalnost and those derived from the active and passive participles, such as radoznalost, zahuktalost, zamišljenost, začudjenost. It can happen that such nouns, as well as other derived nouns, correspond to the English gerund. The SC equivalent of the following sentence

(38) John's being impolite annoyed Mary

can have a noun instead of a clause introduced by (to) što:

(38SC) Mariju je nervirala Jovanova neučtivost.

It is also possible, though, to have a noun in English, that is

(39) John's impoliteness annoyed Mary.

But if the adjective serving as a complement of the gerund is modified by an adverb, it is not possible to have a noun in English. Compare

(40) His being so sad worried her
(40SC) Zabrinjavala ju je tolika njegova tuga.

The SC equivalent of

(41) Mary's coming late spoiled everything

is either a sentence with a clause

(41aSC) Sve je pokvarilo to što je Marija došla kasno

or a sentence with a condensing noun

(41bSC) Sve je pokvarilo Marijino zakašnjenje.

The noun lateness, on the other hand, corresponds to the SC noun zakašnjavanje (cf. She continually gets told off for lateness).

It would be difficult to find an English noun corresponding to the English gerund in

(42) Being too fat can be dangerous

whereas Serbo-Croatian has an abstract noun in -ost serving as a condensation

(42SC) Preterana gojaznost može biti opasna.

More extensive research into these possibilities might yield some interesting results, which may throw some new light both on the English gerund and the corresponding nouns serving as condensations in SC.

NOTES

1. The differences of word order between the two languages have been largely disregarded in this work, as they do not seem to have any significant relevance to the problem.

2. I follow John Millington-Ward (Millington-Ward, 1957:149) in calling the form in -ing 'ordinary' rather than the present gerund as the form in -ing cannot be said to express the present tense exclusively.

3. This is not entirely true; as is showr by (4SC), there may be an understood subject identical to another noun in the sentence.

4. There is also ribolov, usually denoting fishing as a sport, whereas ribarstvo denotes fishing as an occupation. Ribarenje or pecanje, on the other hand, denote fishing only as a temporary occupation (cf. to go fishing - ići na pecanje).

5. Compare prosidba which has been derived from the same verbal root and means 'proposing marriage'.

6. I am indebted to W. Browne for this observation.

7. On the distinction between factive and non-factive predicates see Kiparsky and Kiparsky, "Fact", Semantics, ed. Jakobovits and Steinberg, Cambridge University Press 1971, 345-369, and on the same distinction applied to Serbo-Croatian see Bibović, "Some Remarks on the Factive and Non-Factive Complements in English and Serbo-Croatian", Studies 3, Institute of Linguistics, Zagreb - Washington 1971, 37-48.

8. See Kiparsky and Kiparsky, op. cit., 363-365 or Bibović, op. cit., 44-47.

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S - R E L A T O R S*

This study contrasts a broad area of conjunction in English and Serbo-Croatian, but it does not include the whole topic of conjunction. Some remarks are necessary about the scope and nature of the material presented here. Many of the items contrasted will immediately be recognized as function words roughly equatable with conjunctions of one kind or another. Such function words have sometimes been referred to in other works as conjunctives, but our list has not been governed by many of the considerations paramount in other treatments. In some respects this list is more inclusive, in others less inclusive. Thus, by the term relator we mean a word or word group which functions to establish some specific kind of semantic, logical, or grammatical relationship (or combination of these factors) between two S's.

By S we mean here any syntactic construction consisting minimally of a subject and its verb. Our definition specifically excludes conjunctives which relate elements within only one S (e.g. compound subjects or objects)[1] or which relate only one element of an S with another S (e.g. most relative pronouns). Further, we exclude relative pronouns which relate whole S's, as in the example "He talked hurriedly, which bothered me". On the other hand, whatever in the sentence "I will do it, whatever he says" is included. Whatever indicates, apart from its grammatical function, the non-grammatical

*The authors are grateful to Wayles Browne for his suggestion to use this term and for many other helpful points made in connection with this paper.

relationship that the first S is not in any way conditional upon the second S. This dual criterion - that the item must join entire S's as well as indicate some specific kind of semantic relationship - has governed the selection of items without regard to the final surface form (dependent or independent clauses, or separate sentences, or individual sentence elements) which the S's assume in their surface structure after linkage.

The resulting categories seem in some cases to be open sets with relatively many members rather than closed systems with relatively few members. This might suggest that we are dealing primarily with a contrast of lexical rather than purely grammatical items. In fact, the choices among the items are neither all purely lexical nor all purely grammatical. At one extreme the choice is largely lexical (and treated as such by most grammarians so far), for example our Category V. (Rhetorical Links), while at the other extreme the choice clearly depends to a greater extent on grammatical criteria, such as in the sub-categories I.A. (Additive) and IV.C. (Concessive).

Some cases are of an intermediate type, as pointed out by M.A.K. Halliday, "where the number of possibilities is limited but large and the interaction of one choice with others is still fairly complex".[2] The focus of the contrast, however, is on the relating function as defined by the kinds of S's which they can relate and not only on the lexical content of the individual relators. Lexically there is a great difference between the phrases not in the least and by no means. In the following examples, however, they are functionally equivalent (i.e., Contrastive Negative, IV.G.) and their lexical differences

are largely irrelevant: "The water is warm today. It is not in the least cold." and "The water is warm today. It is by no means cold." That is, in reality there is only one way to be cold.

It is on the basis of this kind of equivalence, and not on the basis of the lexical content of the items, that the list presented here has been compiled and arranged. In this connection it is to be noted further that in those few cases where certain structures which are themselves open to a large number of lexical choices have been included, they have been treated as a single item, and no attempt has been made to include all the lexical possibilities. For example, the structure containing more important, more interesting, etc. has been listed under I.A.2. but no attempt at an exhaustive listing of the lexical items that might operate in this structure has been made.

Just as the items are sometimes on the borderline between grammar and lexis, their functions are sometimes on the border between grammar and style. It is a grammatical fact that in English "the water" in the sentence "The water is not cold" undergoes a pronominalization transformation when it follows the sentence "The water is warm today". That is clearly grammatical information. It is also a fact that native speakers of English feel a prohibition against "The water is warm. It is not cold", almost as strong as that against "The water is warm. The water is not cold", and yet it is open to question whether this is a grammatical or a stylistic prohibition. But whether this prohibition is stylistic or grammatical, it seems important to identify the relators which allow it to be overcome (e.g. not at all: "The water is warm. It is not at all cold.") They allow this by introducing some new information which establishes

a different logico-semantic relationship between the two S's.

It will also be observed that the items on the list are not all of the same rank. The list makes no distinction among single words, word groups, or even entire clauses, so long as they function as *S*-relators. The defining criterion of function prevailed over all other considerations. The familiar phenomenon of rank-shift was thus regarded as of secondary importance. Similarly, no distinction has been made between those items which relate coordinate clauses, subordinate clauses, or entire sentences. The reasons for this were two-fold. First, many of them may be regarded as both sentential and clausal, sometimes even in the same context. For example, both of the structures "He went to town. But he didn't buy new shoes" and "He went to town, but he didn't buy new shoes" are acceptable in English (though, of course, they are not identical). Second, because the distinction between sentential and clausal relators is not rigidly maintained by native speakers of English, it seemed pedagogically advisable to illustrate contrasts within a category of relationship even in cases where some distinction is maintained. For example, <u>though</u> in final position relates only whole sentences ("He went to town. He didn't buy new shoes, though."). But in non-final positions, <u>though</u> relates only clauses which are in the same sentence ("Though he went to town, he didn't buy new shoes."). For the learner of English, it was felt that the contrast between the two uses of <u>though</u>, and its contrast with similar items such as <u>however</u> on the one hand and <u>although</u> on the other, was more important in this respect than maintaining the distinction between subordinating and coordinating conjunctions.

While our list has been compiled and arranged according to criteria that appear to ignore some traditional grammatical distinctions, these distinctions have not been ignored. Rather, the information about them will be indicated in tabular form in later instalments of this study, when a detailed analysis of the syntactico-semantic properties of the items listed here and their Serbo-Croatian equivalents will also be presented.

In the majority of the remaining cases, the item will fit directly between the two S's making up the test frame. The possibilities for occurrence of the item in other parts of the sentences, such as initial ("Though he went to town, he didn't buy new shoes."), post-verbal ("... you are, as it were, wasting your time.", III. C.), or final ("Jim would have been a good lawyer. He started drinking heavily after he lost his first case though.", VI. B. 3.), will be explicitly handled in the later instalments of this study. Note further that the positions within a sentence frame which individual items may occupy have been indicated in only relatively few cases.

The following points should also be made clear: the theoretical importance of this part of the paper lies principally in the classificatory scheme which is, as far as the authors know, not derivative from previous classifications. To simplify understanding of the classification, the main index (pp. 10 - 12) should be referred to at the same time as the examples. This will help to clarify not only the names of the categories, but also the relationships between them. The practical importance and pedagogical value of the following list lies in reminding the textbook writer and teacher of the necessity of mentioning

all types of such logico-semantic relationships as obtain, as well as making them aware that every type of relationship can be expressed with many more lexical items than is usually believed, and certainly with many more than their students normally use. Many of the items are composed of words which the students know anyway but are not aware of as relators. Many features of further pedagogical value will be covered in the tabular portion of the later instalments. These will include stylistic notes where relevant, position in the surface sentences, combinability with other relators (and + conversely = and conversely), ability to relate not only declarative but also interrogative and imperative sentences, and the like.

The authors have attemped, by means of this classification, to exhaust the semantic relations that can obtain between any types of S's in the particular languages. We invite the readers to submit revised classifications, to point out missing categories (by means of sample sentences illustrating relations not in our index, if necessary) or missing items in either language.

The categorization as presented here is based, in our interpretation, on a set of logico-semantic features which we cannot yet specify formally but which may emerge once the detailed analysis is completed. It is, then, an intuitive, but no less real, matrix of features, whose eventual formal construction our future analytic work should contribute to.

METHODOLOGY

In compiling the list for contrasting, we began with English. Extracting items from a very large corpus might ideally have been a sounder approach, but the practical problem of amassing such a sample, assuring its representativeness, and extracting the surface relators from it were so great as to be prohibitive. Instead, we have taken items from the function-word list of the Zagreb version of the Brown Corpus,[3] expanded it by referring to grammars such as Charles Fries's American English Grammar,[4] George Curme's Syntax,[5] Poutsma's A Grammar of Late Modern English,[6] and Sidney Greenbaum's Studies in English Adverbial Usage,[7] and added examples collected by the authors from reading and conversation. Some conclusions about the exhaustiveness of our lists can be drawn from statistical evidence. Fries, in his AEG, defines a class of "function words with word groups".[8] His sample, consisting of 3,000 pieces of correspondence, provided thirty examples of items in this class. Of these thirty, twelve account for over 92 per cent of the occurrences in his sample. Our items are defined according to different criteria, and are in general broader than Fries's, and in addition his sample is far from ideal, but his finding that less than half of his items account for 92 per cent of occurrences would lend credence to a claim that our list of some 300 items would account for an extremely high percentage of the relators likely to appear in any representative sample of English. This conclusion would be further borne out by the fact that there are 53 single-word items in the Zagreb version of the Brown Corpus function-word list which will fill our sample-frame slots, while our lists contain over 150 single-word items.

This might raise the question whether in our list we have included items of only marginal usefulness. Frequency is no clear guide in this regard. Nonetheless does not occur in the Zagreb version of the Brown Corpus, nor in the Word-Count of Thorndike and Lorge, but nonetheless is obviously a basic function word. Furthermore is less frequent than adorn and only half as frequent as glide according to the Thorndike word-count, and yet it is one of only three single-word relators of the category "Additive, emphatic" which may link interrogative sentences.

The basic method for establishing similarity of items was by insertion of the item into a particular kind of test frame. The test frames used, however, were not single sentences with "slots" in the strictly structuralist tradition. Instead, we chose sets of two sentences and applied the test of whether a particular item could link them without substantially altering the relationship indicated by other members of the same category. What exactly constituted a "substantial" alternation, of course, presented a complex problem, which we dealt with by appealing to the intuition of native speakers.

Having established membership in one of the functional categories on the basis of the test frames, we then tested the items again in surface structure slots for a wide variety of characteristics, such as sentence position, ability to link declarative, imperative, interrogative, or negative sentences, and whether it was a subordinating or coordinating element, among others. Each item was analyzed in this way and the information tabulated. The tables with this information for both English and Serbo-Croatian will be presented in subsequent issues. To provide the most useful information, stylistic

acceptability to native speakers of each of the sentences produced (such as "colloquial use only", "legal use", "low style", "literary", etc.) will also be presented.

In this portion of the study, the sample sentence (test frames) have been made as general as possible. This means that we have made an effort each time to choose a test frame which would allow as many relators under each particular category as possible. It will usually be the case that choosing different test frame realizations will show that some of the major categories which we have portrayed here should actually be sub-categorized. If actual differences exist between two items in a category, be they stylistic or grammatical, then there should presumably be some pair of test-frame sentences which would bring out that difference. We are now assuming that all of the items within a particular category will have in common a major "bundle" of syntactic, semantic and stylistic features, and that subsequent sub-categorizations will reduce, in each case, the number of features shared by the items in a particular sub-category.

This first, "master" list then contains information about the categories and sub-categories as established by the test sentences. For this portion of this study the test sentences were exclusively declarative (unless the relator itself demands a non-declarative sentence), i.e. we are excluding questions of joining imperative, interrogative, and negative sentences with themselves and with each other until the later portions of this study, when the thorough analysis of the tables will be presented. The later portions of the study will contain grammatical and syntactic information about the surface form of the sentences

produced by linkage, as well as stylistic information.

The following list, although it contains both English items and their Serbo-Croatian counterparts, should not be interpreted to mean that in every case the English item in a context should be translated by its Serbo-Croatian counterpart given in the same line in this list. Clearly, there will often be cases when more than one item from the Serbo-Croatian side will translate one English item, and vice versa.

Please observe also that in the master list no provision has been made for the particular syntactic features of a particular item, so that, for example, item A in a list may fit the sample sentence perfectly, while item B in the same list may require the verb and subject to be inverted, item C may require a modal verb, and item D nominalization. For practical reasons, this type of information is indicated in notes, but only in cases where it was felt necessary for the understanding of the relator's function. A proper analysis of such phenomena remains as a task for the subsequent issues of this study.

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I. SIMPLE CONJUNCTION

A. ADDITIVE

1. Additive, simple

Relator implies mere addition of information to the discourse.[9]

(a) positive

/I was in the library. / The children were shouting. The dog was barking. /They all bothered me. /	/Bio sam u knjižnici. / Djeca su vikala. Pas je lajao. /Sve me je to smetalo. /
and	i; a; pa; te
plus	(a) uz to[10]
in addition	povrh/pored toga
equally important	(a) što je isto (tako) važno
also	takodjer
too	
as well	(a još) k tome (i)
Yugoslavia has improved relations with Italy. It has drawn closer to Austria.	Jugoslavija je poboljšala svoje odnose s Italijom. Ona se približila Austriji.
similarly	slično; na sličan način
likewise	isto tako
in the same way	u istom smislu

John is tall. Bill is tall.	John je visok. Bill je visok.
so[11]	a isto tako; kao i; a i; što vrijedi/što bi se moglo reći i za

(b) negative

The children were not shouting. The dog was /NEG/ barking.[12]	Djeca nisu vikala. Pas /NEG/ je lajao.
neither	ni(ti)
nor	
The children were quiet. The dog was not barking.	Djeca su bila mirna. Pas nije lajao.
either	ni(ti)

2. Additive, emphatic

Relator implies addition of information to the discourse, with greater emphasis on S_2.

(a) positive

They have the money. They're willing to lend it to us.	Oni imaju novac. Spremni su ga nama posuditi.
moreover	pored/povrh toga
furthermore	uz to
besides	osim toga
plus	k tome
to boot	i još k tome
more than that	štaviše
over and above that	povrh svega toga
beyond that	i još više
on top of that	tome valja dodati i to da
into the bargain	k tome
not to mention that	da i ne spominjemo da
apart from the fact that	pored činjenice da
not only ..... but also	ne samo ... nego/već i
not only that (but also)	ne samo to (nego/već i)
both ... and	i ... i

and ... also	a takodjer
and ... too	
what's more	što više
what's better	što je još bolje
what's worse	što je još gore
more important/interesting	što je još važnije/zanimljivije
even more	(čak) što više
and even	pa čak
and indeed	i čak

(b) negative

He doesn't know how to boil and egg. He /NEG/ can make an omelette.	On ne zna skuhati jaje. On /NEG/ zna napraviti omlet.
still/even/much less[13]	a još manje
let alone[13]	a kamo li

B. CONVERSE

Relator implies that S_2 presents inverse of image presented by S_1.

Many cows won't harm the grass. Much grass won't harm the cows.	Mnogo krava neće naškoditi travi. Mnogo trave neće naškoditi kravama.
vice versa	a niti
conversely	(a n)i obratno
and the other way round	a isto tako
contrariwise	
oppositely	i suprotno

II. DISJUNCTION

A. SIMPLE DISJUNCTION

Relator implies that S_1 and S_2 do not co-occur.

John goes to football games on Saturdays. He stays home and watches television.	Subotom John ide na nogometne utakmice. On ostaje kod kuće i gleda televiziju.
or	ili

either ... or	ili ... ili
or else	ili pak
alternatively	
rather than	radije nego da
sometimes ... sometimes	ponekad ... (a po)nekad
at times ... at times	povremeno ... a povremeno; čas ... čas; sad ... sad
partly ... partly	djelomice/dijelom/djelomično... a djelomice/dijelom/djelomično; što ... što

B. REPLACIVE

Relator implies that S_2 is suggested as alternative action to S_1.

John doesn't buy books. He buys records.	John ne kupuje knjige. On kupuje ploče.
instead	umjesto toga
in place/lieu of that	na mjesto toga
rather	radije; prije
rather than	radije/prije nego da
on the contrary	naprotiv

III. REFORMULATION

A. ILLUSTRATIVE

Relator implies that S_2 illustrates the more general S_1.

A wonderful thing might happen there. You might meet a handsome man.	Tamo ti se može dogoditi nešto vrlo lijepo. Možeš sresti zgodnog muškarca.
e.g.	npr.
for example/instance	na primjer
such as	kao na primjer
mind you	znaš; doduše; pazi; da se razumijemo
namely	naime; to jest
I mean	
viz.	tj.
like	

Sam will be here at two to help us carry the packages. He promised that he'd come.

Sam će doći u dva da nam pomogne nositi pakete. Obećao je da će doći.

anyway[14] — uostalom

at any rate[14] — u svakom slučaju; na svaki način

at least[14] — barem

B. I. E.

Relator indicates that S_2 clarifies assumed ambiguities in S_1.

The tank is nearly full. It has 60 liters in it.

Rezervoar je gotovo pun. U njemu ima 60 litara benzina.

i. e. — tj.

that is (to say) — to jest; to će reći da

that means — to znači da

That car will travel comfortably at over 300 km/h. It is one of the fastest cars in the world.

Ovaj auto lako vozi preko 300 km. na sat. To je jedan od najbržih automobila na svijetu.

you might say — moglo bi se reći da

in other words — drugim riječima

so — tako

to/for all intents and purposes — praktički; zapravo

There are sharks in all the waters around the Bahamas. It is rather dangerous to swim there.

U svim vodama oko Bahamskog otočja ima morskih pasa. Tamo je opasno plivati.

needless to say — ne treba ni spominjati

We can expect the necessary information tomorrow. We can rely on his being here tomorrow afternoon.

Potrebne informacije možemo očekivati sutra. Možemo se pouzdati da će on sutra poslije podne već biti ovdje.

at any rate — u svakom slučaju; na svaki način

at least — svakako; barem

C. CONCISE REFORMULATION

Relator forces interpretation of equivalence between S_1 and S_2 despite different content.

The Ferrari can take corners faster, has greater acceleration at all speeds, and has much higher top spead. It's the best race car.	Ferrari se bolje drži na zavojima, ima veće ubrzanje u svim brzinama, i znatno veću maksimalnu brzinu. On je najbolji trkaći automobil.
in a word	jednom riječi
in brief/short	ukratko
in a nutshell	najkraće rečeno
to put it briefly	kratko rečeno
Three famous scientists have tried to prove the same thing as you are trying to prove, and they had more sophisticated equipment. You're wasting your time.	Tri čuvena učenjaka pokušala su dokazati istu stvar koju ti pokušavaš dokazati, a oni su imali puno bolju opremu. Ti gubiš vrijeme.
in other words	drugim riječima
He's willing to lend us $ 5,000. He's got money to burn.	On nam je spreman posuditi 5.000 dolara. Ima novaca za bacanje.
indeed	zaista
truly	uistinu
to tell the truth	da pravo kažem
actually	zapravo
in fact	u stvari; stvarno
without exaggeration	bez pretjerivanja
not to overstate the case	neću pretjerivati, ali
so to say/speak[15]	da tako kažem
as it were[15]	tako reći
in a way/sense[15]	na neki način; u nekom/izvjesnom smislu; u neku ruku

He's nothing special. He's a bum.	On nije ništa naročito. On je prava propalica.
to be blunt[16]	da budem grub
in the vernacular[16]	grubo/prosto/narodski rečen
to put it mildly[16]	blago/najblaže rečeno
not to put too fine an edge on things[16]	bez uvijanja govoreći

D. PREFERRED REFORMULATION

S_2 is a preferred reformulation of S_1:

He read the book in half an hour. He skimmed it.	Pročitao je knjigu za pola sata. Samo ju je prolistao.
or	odnosno
rather	prije bi se reklo da
better	ili bolje
I should say	bolje reći/rečeno
more properly/correctly/precisely	ispravnije govoreći
correctly speaking	pravilnije rečeno
to be more precise	da budem precizniji
actually	zapravo
in (point of) fact	u stvari
as a matter of fact	stvarno; uistinu
that is	to jest

IV. CONTRADICTION AND CONTRAST

A. CONTRADICTION

Relator implies that S_2 is not expected consequence of S_1.

He is not polite. I like him.	On nije uljudan. Ja ga volim.
but	ali; no
yet	(ali/pa/no) ipak
still	bez obzira na to; bilo kako bilo

nevertheless	usprkos tome
nonetheless	unatoč tome
all the same	svejedno
anyway	uza sve to
however	medjutim
though[17]	ipak
(al)though[17]	premda; iako
whereas[17]	ma da
even if ... still[17]	čak i ako ... ipak

B. OPPOSING FACTORS

S_1 {negative / positive} factor of an appraisal; S_2 opposed to S_1 as {positive / negative}.

He handles his business badly. He is very understanding about people's personal problems.	On svoj posao vodi loše. On ima mnogo razumijevanja za osobne probleme ljudi.
(on the one hand) ... on the other hand	(s jedne strane) ... s druge strane; (u jednu ruku) ... u drugu ruku
(but) at the same time	(ali) istovremeno; u isto vrijeme

C. CONCESSIVE

Relator concedes validity of S_1, but implies that S_2 is valid anyway.

New York is big. Tokyo is bigger.	New York je velik. Tokyo je veći.
granted ... but	ako i ... ali; dopuštam... ali
I admit ... but	priznajem ... ali
admittedly ... but	doduše ... ali
agreed ... but	slažem se... ali
even if we grant that	ako i dopustimo da
true ... but	istina ... ali
I know ... but	znam ... ali
OK ... but	u redu ... ali
good ... but	(no) dobro ... ali
of course ... but	naravno ... ali

certainly ... but	svakako/dakako ... ali
(to be) sure ... but	sigurno/zacijelo ... ali
doubtless ... but	nema sumnje ... ali
undoubtedly ... but	nesumnjivo ... ali
no doubt ... but	bez sumnje ... ali
without a doubt ... but	bez dvojbe ... ali
unquestionably ... but	nedvojbeno ... ali
perhaps ... but	možda ... ali
maybe ... but	
may/might be ... but	može biti ... ali
while... may be	dok ... može biti
be that as it may	makar (to) i bilo tako
though that may be (true)	premda je možda tako

D. CONTRADICTORY REALITY

Relator admits statement of S_1 is incorrect in light of S_2.

You'd think he could have learned Spanish after six years in Madrid. He's not much better than when he arrived.	Čovjek bi pomislio da će on nakon šest godina boravka u Madridu naučiti španjolski. Ne govori ga mnogo bolje nego onda kad je tamo stigao.
really	zapravo
in reality	u stvari
actually	stvarno
in actuality	u stvarnosti
as a matter of fact	a kad tamo
(but) in (point of) fact	(no/ali) uistinu
(but) the fact (of the matter) is	(no) činjenica je da

E. CONTRARY

Relator claims S_2 is supporting evidence for S_1, which is NEG.

He doesn't play badly. He won the first prize.	On ne svira loše. Osvojio je prvu nagradu.
on the contrary	naprotiv
quite (to) the contrary	baš obratno

F. CONTRAST

Relator implies that S_2 contrasts strongly with S_1.

That material is rather heavy. This material is light.	Onaj materijal je dosta težak. Ovaj materijal je lagan.
in/by (way of) contrast	za razliku

G. CONTRASTIVE NEGATIVE

Relator allows S_2 to restate in strong negative terms what S_1 claims positively.

Spike was a good boxer. He /NEG/ was a coward.	Spike je bio dobar boksač. On /NEG/ je bio kukavica.
not in the least	nimalo
not a bit	ni najmanje
not at all	uopće
by no means	nikako
not by any manner of means	nipošto
in no respect/way	ni u kom pogledu/smislu
under no condition	ni u kojem slučaju

V. RHETORICAL LINKS

A. SERIAL ORDER

Relator signifies order of units within the discourse.

Why was Henry so rude to Philip last night? -- __1__ Philip hadn't spoken to him all week. __2__ Henry thought that Philip had had too much to drink. __3__ Henry felt he was completely justified in any rudeness to Philip.	Zašto je Henry sinoć bio tako grub prema Philipu? -- __1__ Philip nije cijeli tjedan s njim progovorio ni riječi. __2__ Henry je smatrao da je Philip previše popio. __3__ Henry je mislio da ima pravo biti grub prema Philipu.
1. first	prvo
in the first place	u prvom redu; najprije
to begin with	prvo i prvo
2. second	drugo
in the second place	u drugom redu

next	zatim; onda
3.	
finally	napokon; na koncu; na kraju; naposljetku
lastly	konačno; najzad; na kraju krajeva
last but not least	
to conclude	da zaključimo
in conclusion	zaključno; u zaključku
to sum up	uzevši sve zajedno; da sumiramo
to summarize	da rezimiramo; da sažmemo
in summary	i kao sažetak/rezime svega
to make a long story short	da ne duljimo; da skratimo priču

B. INSTANCES OF ONE GENERALIZATION

Relator signifies that S_1 and S_2 are specific cases of a general statement.

(Yugoslavia wants good relations with all its neighbors.) It has signed a trade agreement with Greece. It's opened negotiations on technical cooperation with Albania.	(Jugoslavija želi imati dobre odnose sa svim svojim susjedima.) Potpisala je trgovački sporazum s Grčkom. Započela je pregovore o tehničkoj suradnji s Albanijom.
again	nadalje
similarly	u sličnom duhu
likewise	isto tako
in the same vein/way	u istom smislu
along the same lines	u istom pravcu
at the same time	u isto vrijeme
by the same token	s istom svrhom

C. CONTINUITY

1. Resumption of main theme

Relator indicates resumption of theme formerly introduced.

The hallway should be kept well waxed. All the carpets in the	Pod hodnika mora biti uvijek dobro ulašten. Svi sagovi u kući

house must be cleaned daily. As you know, cleaning them once a week is not enough. /REL/ The chandeliers need regular dusting and the silverware needs polishing.

moraju se čistiti svaki dan. Kako znaš, tjedno čišćenje nije dovoljno. /REL/ S lustera treba redovito brisati prašinu, a srebrninu treba čistiti sredstvom koje daje sjaj.

to continue	da nastavimo
continuing	nadalje
in continuation	

2. Breach of continuity

Relator signifies that S_2 changes subject matter of S_1.

Charles was on the noon plane to Chicago. He won't be coming to our party.

Charles je otišao u Chicago avionom u podne. Neće doći na zabavu.

incidentally	usput (rečeno)
by the way/bye	inače; uzgred ((budi) rečeno); kad već o tome govorimo; kad je već o tome riječ; apropos
come to think of it	baš sam se sjetio; da ne zaboravim; kad malo razmislim
not to change the subject, but	kad smo već kod toga

D. ATTITUDE

Relator implies that S_2 expresses attitude of first, second, or third persons towards S_1.

Larry used to think that Russian was a difficult language. He's having a much more difficult time with Georgian.

Larry je svojedobno mislio da je ruski težak jezik. Sada ima mnogo više muke s gruzijskim.

as you (may) know	kako (možda) znate
as you can see/tell	kako vidite
as I/we have said	kako sam rekao; kako smo rekli
as has been pointed out	kako je istaknuto/naglašeno

as has been demonstrated	kako se vidjelo
by all accounts	na svaki način; po svemu (sudeći)
as far as I know	koliko (ja) znam
as far as is known	koliko je poznato
as far as we can see/tell	koliko (mi) možemo vidjeti/reći
to the best of ___'s knowledge	po nečijem najboljem znanju/ uvjerenju/savjesti
for all we know	koliko (mi) znamo
in ___'s opinion	po nečijem mišljenju/shvaćanju
according to	prema .....
from ___'s point of view	s nečijeg stajališta/gledišta
by ___'s own admission	po nečijem vlastitom priznanju
much to ___'s (NOUN)	na nečije veliko (NOUN)
as is to be expected	kako se može i očekivati
not unexpectedly	nimalo neočekivano
not surprisingly	što ne iznenadjuje

E. FOCUS DIRECTING

Relator draws attention to S_2 from S_1.

The reservoir should be kept full. If the oil level falls below two liters, severe damage to the motor may occur.	Rezervoar mora uvijek biti pun. Ako se razina ulja u njemu spusti ispod dva litra, može doći do ozbiljnog oštećenja motora.
it should be emphasized /mentioned/noted/ pointed out	valja naglasiti/spomenuti/ primijetiti/istaći
the point is that	stvar je u tome da
note/N. B.	pazi(te)
please note that	pripazite/skrećemo vam pažnju da

F. GRATIS ADDITION

Relator indicates that S_2 should be known from interlocutor's previous knowledge of S_1.

Bill went to the movies last night. Catherine was with him.	Bill je sinoć bio u kinu. Catherine je bila s njim.
needless to say	ne treba ni reći/spominjati
it goes without saying	razumije se samo po sebi; samo je po sebi razumljivo
as you can guess	lako je pogoditi da

G. SPECIFIC SHIFT

Relator indicates that S_2 adds particular information in support of S_1.

The Amazon jungle is really primitive. Some tribes there still practise cannibalism.	Amazonska džungla je zaista primitivna. Neka plemena tamo još su uvijek ljudožderi.
you know	znate; znaš
I mean	hoću reći; mislim
mind you	pazite; vidite; gledajte
let me tell you	dozvolite da vam kažem/velim
to tell the truth	da vam pravo/istinu/po duši kažem
suffice it to say	dovoljno je reći da
Mr. Smith was no help in our discussions at all. He came close to ending them with his bickering over every point anybody else wanted to make.	G. Smith nam uopće nije pomogao u diskusiji. Skoro ju je upropastio svojim stalnim zadjevicama kad god je netko htio nešto reći.
as a matter of fact	zapravo
in fact	u stvari
specifically	posebno; konkretno
to be specific	da budem konkretan/precizan
as far as that goes	što se toga tiče

H. GENERAL SHIFT

Relator implies that S_2 is a generalization including S_1.

It rained 60 cm. in April. It has been a wet spring.	U travnju je palo 60 cm. kiše. Proljeće je bilo vlažno.
in general	općenito (govoreći/uzevši)
generally	
all in all	sve u svemu; ukupno uzevši
on the whole	u cjelini; uglavnom
all things/everything considered	uzevši sve skupa/zajedno; jedno s drugim
truly	doista; zaista
indeed	uistinu; zbilja

I. RETROSPECTIVE REFERENCE

Relator indicates that S_2 is an elaboration on S_1 (or what preceded S_1).

He was an important man politically. He was the mayor's hand-picked successor.	On je bio važna politička osoba. Njega je gradonačelnik posebno odabrao za svog nasljednika.
as to that	što se toga tiče
as regards that	
as for that	
apropos of that	kad smo već kod toga
touching that	u vezi s tim
bearing on that	
in that regard	
in connection with that	
with regard to/regarding that	u pogledu toga
as far as that goes	ukoliko to nešto znači
in that connection	u vezi toga
with reference to that	s obzirom na to
concerning that	
in that respect	
in relation to that	
disregarding that[18]	bez obzira na to

J. SENTENCE ADVERBS FUNCTIONING AS RELATORS

definitely	svakako
for sure	sigurno
surely	
naturally	prirodno
of course	naravno
precisely	točno; da budem precizan
understandably	razumljivo
clearly	jasno
obviously	očito; očigledno; očevidno
frankly	otvoreno/iskreno govoreći
predictably	kako se moglo i predvidjeti
hopefully	nadajmo se
supposedly	navodno
fortunately	srećom; na sreću
ostensibly	tobože; naoko
normally	normalno
usually	obično
chiefly	uglavnom; pretežno; većinom
perhaps	možda
maybe	
possibly	moguće
easily	lako
formerly	nekad(a); nekoć
earlier	prije
previously	ranije
similarly	slično
again	a opet; nadalje

VI. CAUSATION

A. INFERENCE

Relator allows S_2 to be inferred from assumed truth of S_1.

His shoes are here. He must be here. (or: He is here.)	Cipele su mu ovdje. On mora biti ovdje. (or: On je ovdje.)
therefore	zato i; i zato
(and) so	pa i
in that case	u tom slučaju
hence	dakle; otuda
then	
thus	i tako
certainly	pa svakako; sigurno
clearly	jasno; očito
naturally	naravno
of course	
on that account	pa zato
consequently	zbog toga; stoga
accordingly	prema tome
logically	logično
it follows that	iz toga slijedi/proizlazi da
perhaps[19]	pa možda
probably[19]	pa vjerojatno
in all probability[19]	i sasvim je vjerojatno
most likely[19]	najvjerojatnije
for[20]	jer

B. REASON

1. Reason, simple

Relator indicates that S_2 supplies the reason for occurrence of S_1.

He changed money. He needed German marks.[21]	Promijenio je novac. Trebale su mu njemačke marke.
because	jer
as	budući da; kako

for the reason that	zato što
on the basis/grounds that	u tu svrhu
on that account	zbog toga razloga
knowing	znajući
realizing	shvativši
taking into consideration/account that	uzevši u obzir da; računajući s time da
being aware that	(budući da je bio) svjestan da
keeping/bearing in mind that	držeći na pameti (činjenicu) da
with that in mind	imajući na umu (činjenicu) da
in light of the fact	u svjetlu činjenice
on the assumption that[22]	pod pretpostavkom
assuming (that)[22]	pretpostaviviši; pretpostavljajući

2. Reason, emphatic

Relator implies that S_2 is emphasized as main reason for S_1.

You can't go. You're too young.	Ne možeš ići. Ti si premlad.
in the first place	u prvom redu; prvo i prvo
above all (else)	prije svega

3. Exceptional

Relator allows S_2 to point out the principal reason why S_1 not carried out.

Jim would have been a good lawyer. He started drinking heavily after he lost his first case.	Jim bi bio dobar advokat. Počeo je mnogo piti nakon što je izgubio svoju prvu parnicu.
but	ali; no
except that	da ne
but that	samo da ne
save	kad ne
only (that)	samo
however	medjutim
though	

C. PURPOSE

1. Purpose, positive

Relator implies that S_1 done so that S_2 may occur

Make the radio louder. I can hear the news.	Otvori radio jače. Mogu čuti vijesti.
in order that	(zato) da (bi)
so (that)	tako da
He drove to New York. He /SEE/ the show.	Odvezao se u New York. On /VIDJETI/ predstavu.
for the purpose of[23]	kako bi
with the aim of[23]	sa ciljem da
He wanted to see the show. He drove to New York.	Želio je vidjeti predstavu. Odvezao se u New York.
to that end[24]	u tu svrhu
with that aim[24]	s tim ciljem
He drove to New York. He might see the show.	Odvezao se u New York. Možda će vidjeti predstavu.
hoping that[26]	nadajući se da
in hopes of/that[26]	u nadi da
in the hope that	

2. Purpose, negative

Relator implies that S_1 is done to prevent S_2 from occurring.

He gave me the key. He /NEG/ lose it.	Dao mi je ključ. On ga /NEG/ izgubi.
for fear that	bojeći se; u strahu; od straha; iz bojazni
lest	da (slučajno) ne (bi)
in case (he should)	
to keep from	
to avoid	da izbjegne da

D. RESULT AND CAUSE

1. Result

Relator implies that S_2 results from S_1.

The wind died. The boat stopped moving entirely.	Vjetar je prestao. Čamac se sasvim zaustavio.

therefore	i/pa zato
so	tako
on that account	zbog toga
for that reason	
accordingly	prema tome
hence	stoga
consequently	kao posljedica toga
in consequence	usljed toga
as a result	kao rezultat toga
no wonder	nije (ni) čudo
small wonder	(nije stoga) nikakvo čudo.

2. Cause

Relator implies that S_2 is cause of S_1.

John gave up going to demonstrations. He realized that protesting would have no positive results.	John je prestao ići na demonstracije Shvatio je da protestiranje ne daje nikakvih pozitivnih rezultata.
because	jer
for	zato što
since	kako
in that	budući da
inasmuch as	
seeing that	s obzirom (na to) da
for the simple reason that	iz jednostavnog razloga što
owing to the fact that	zbog činjenice da; zahvaljujući činjenici da
due to the fact that	zbog toga što; zahvaljujući tome što

3. Obvious cause

Relator allows S_2 to be clear evidence for occurrence of S_1.

The car stopped suddenly. It was out of gas.	Auto je iznenada stao. Ponestalo mu je benzina.
no wonder	nije ni čudo
why not	kako i ne bi
of course	naravno; dakako

naturally	prirodno; razumije se; razumljivo
after all	napokon; na koncu konca
obviously	očigledno; očevidno
you see	vidite

E. NON-REAL CAUSE

1. Contradictory cause

Relator implies that S_2 does not hold as possible cause for S_1.

I lent him 1,000 dollars. I have a lot of money.	Posudio sam mu 1.000 dolara. Imam mnogo novaca.
as if	kao da
not that	premda ne; premda se ne bi moglo reći da

2. Hypothetical cause

Relator implies that S_2 is hypothetical cause for manner of action of S_1.

He dances. He is possessed by the devil.	On pleše. Obuzet je djavlom.
as if/though	kao (da)

F. MANNER OF CAUSATION

Relator implies that S_2 is brought about by means of S_1.

He lost control of the car. He knocked down the power line.	Izgubio je vlast nad kolima. Srušio je električni stup.
thus	(i) tako
and so	
in this way/manner	na taj način
thereby[27]	time
that is how/the way	samim tim

VII. CONDITIONALITY

A. CONCOMITANT VARIATION

Relator implies that S_1 is conditional on degree of S_2.

A good teacher gives high grades. The students know the subject.	Dobar nastavnik daje visoke ocjene. Njegovi učenici znadu gradivo.

according to (how well)[28]	prema tome kako
depending on (how well)[28]	u zavisnosti od toga kako; zavisno o tome kako
insofar as	u koliko
to the extent (that)	u onolikoj mjeri u kolikoj
to the degree (that)	do te mjere do koje

B. EVENTUALITY CONSIDERED

Relator makes S_2 conditional upon S_1, which is of unknown probability.

He doesn't arrive on time. I will call you.	On ne dodje na vrijeme. Ja ću vas nazvati.
in case	u slučaju da; ako slučajno
in the event	za slučaj

C. CONSIDERATIVE

Relator implies that S_1 is a consideration relevant to judgment of S_2.

He studied in Moscow. His Russian is not very good.	Studirao je u Moskvi. Njegov ruski nije baš naročit.
taking into consideration/ account	uzevši u obzir; imajući u vidu da
considering that	
if we take into consideration that	ako uzmemo u obzir da
keeping/bearing in mind that	kad pomislimo da; ako imamo na umu da
knowing that	kad/ako znamo da
realizing that	kad shvatimo da
being aware that	ako smo svjesni da
seeing that	s obzirom na to da
with that in mind	s obzirom na činjenicu da
in light of the fact that	u svjetlu činjenice da

D. CONDITION MET

Condition of S_1 fulfilled implies that S_2 will occur.

Kissinger has gone to China. Relations between America and China will improve.	Kissinger je bio u Kini. Odnosi izmedju Amerike i Kine će se popraviti.
now that	sada kad
seeing that	budući da; obzirom (na to) da
inasmuch as	kad je već
since	kako

E. COMPARATIVE DEGREE

Relator implies that S_2 is dependent on degree or manner of S_1.

The clown amused the little girl. She laughed cheerfully.	Klaun je zabavljao djevojčicu. Ona se veselo smijala.
so ... that[29]	tako/toliko ... da
to such a degree	dotle; do tolikog/takvog stupnja
to such an extent	u tolikoj mjeri; do te mjere
in such a manner/way	na takav način
the more ... the more	što (COMP) ... to (COMP)
The song was pretty. We were delighted.	Pjesma je bila lijepa. Mi smo bili oduševljeni.
such ... that[30]	takav ... da

F. TEMPORAL/SPATIAL CONDITIONS

Relator implies that S_1 is temporal or spatial condition allowing occurrence of S_2.

You can see the path. The walking is easy.	Vidite stazu. Kretanje je lako.
once	kad jednom
(only) when	(tek) kad
(only) where	(tek) tamo gdje
whenever	kad god
wherever	gdje god
as long as	sve dok; dok god

G. CONDITION NEGATED

Relator implies that S_2 occurs depending on non-occurrence of S_1.

You arrive home by five. I'll leave without you.	Ti dodješ kući do pet sati. Otići ću bez tebe.
unless	ukoliko ne
if[31]	ako
assuming that[31]	pretpostavimo da
provided that[31]	pod uvjetom da
in the event that[31]	u slučaju da
otherwise[32]	inače
or else	ili
either ... or	ili ... ili

H. CONDITION IRRELEVANT

Relator implies that S_1 is independent of the occurrence of S_2.

I'm going to the library,	Ja idem u knjižnicu,
whether or not (you agree)	bez obzira (na to) (da li se ti slažeš)
regardless or whether (you agree)	
no matter if (you go or not)	bez obzira (ideš li ti ili ne)
irrespective of/no matter who (might be there)	bez obzira tko (će biti tamo)
irrespective of/no matter what (you might think)	bez obzira što (ćeš ti misliti)
irrespective of/no matter which (books are available)	bez obzira koje (su knjige na posudbu)
irrespective of/no matter where (you study)	bez obzira gdje (ćeš ti učiti)
irrespective of/no matter when (you arrive)	bez obzira kad (ćeš doći)
irrespective of/no matter how (long you stay here)	bez obzira kako (dugo ćeš ti ostati ovdje)
whatever (you might think)	bez obzira što (ćeš ti misliti)

I. CONDITION IMPOSED

Relator implies that S_1 is imposed for performance of S_2.

He will come. You buy his ticket.	On će doći. Ti mu kupiš kartu.
only if	jedino/samo (onda) ako
with/on the understanding that	uz preduvjet/pretpostavku da
on the condition that	uz uvjet da
provided	pod uvjetom da
with the proviso	
as long as	ukoliko

J. CONDITION IMAGINED

S_1 supposed to hold implies that S_2 holds.

You knew the water was polluted. You wouldn't allow your son to swim there.	Znali ste da je voda zagadjena. Ne biste dozvolili svome sinu da tamo pliva.
supposing ... (then)	pretpostavivši da; uz pretpostavku da
suppose ... (then)	pretpostavimo da
assume ... (then)	ako podjemo od pretpostavke da
imagine ... (then)	zamislimo da; zamislite da
say	recimo

K. CONDITIONAL FULFILMENT ASSUMED

Relator implies that S_1 is likely; S_2 dependent on S_1.

We are right. The light will flash.	Mi pogodimo. Upalit će se svjetlo.
assuming (that)	pretpostavimo da
presuming (that)	pretpostavljajući da
taking for granted that ... (then)	ako pretpostavimo da .. (onda)
provided (that)	pod uvjetom/pretpostavkom
providing (that)	uz uvjet da
given that	ako je istina da

VIII. DEGREE AND MANNER

A. DEGREE

Relator implies that S_2 obtains in spite of the degree of action described by S_1.

He drinks. I love him.	On pije. Ja ga volim.
as/however much	ma koliko
no matter how much	bez obzira koliko

B. MANNER

Relator implies that S_2 is performed in the same way as S_1.

He writes. He speaks.	On piše. On govori.
as	kao što; kako (i)
(just) like	jednako tako; isto tako/onako kao što
in the (same) way (as)	na isti/jednaki način kao što

IX. TEMPORAL

A. SIMULTANEITY

Relator implies that S_1 and S_2 occur simultaneously.

Ann was doing her homework. John was playing basketball.	Ann je spremala domaću zadaću. John je igrao košarku.
at the same time	u isto vrijeme
simultaneously	istovremeno; istodobno
while	dok
as	
meanwhile	u medjuvremenu
meantime	za to vrijeme
concurrently	paralelno
concomitantly	
at the moment of/that	u času/trenutku kad

B. NON-SIMULTANEITY

1. Precedence

Relator implies that S_2 occurs before S_1.

Michael was elected President. He appointed officers.	Michael je izabran za predsjednika. Imenovao je funkcionare.
before	prije nego/no (što)
previously	prethodno
earlier	ranije
beforehand	unaprijed
before that	prije svega; najprije
prior to	

2. Subsequence

Relator implies that S_2 occurs after S_1.

Michael was elected President. He appointed officers.	Michael je izabran za predsjednika. Imenovao je funkcionare.
(soon) after	(uskoro) nakon što
then	tada; zatim; onda
afterwards	poslije; potom
later	kasnije
subsequently	naknadno
following[33]	nakon
next	kao slijedeći korak
as soon as	čim
just as	baš kad
in due course	nakon nekog/odredjenog vremena
shortly	kratko vrijeme nakon toga; za kratko vrijeme; uskoro
finally	na kraju/koncu; konačno
at last	napokon
first ... then	najprije/prvo ... a onda/zatim

NOTES

1. Notice that conjunctions relating elements within a single S are not always easily distinguished from relators involving two S's. This is due to certain transformational processes which lead to identical surface realizations in both cases and which can also result in ambiguities. Thus, the sentence "John and Mary danced" may mean either "John and Mary danced together", in which case we are faced with a compound subject, or "John danced (with somebody) and Mary danced (with somebody else)", which is a case of two S's being related, with the subsequent deletion of identical material.

2. M.A.K. Halliday, Angus McIntosh, and Peter Strevens, The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching, Longmans, London, 1964, p. 22.

3. Cf. Rudolf Filipović, "The Choice of the Corpus for a Contrastive Analysis of Serbo-Croatian and English", Studies 1, The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project, Institute of Linguistics, Zagreb, 1969, pp. 37-46.

4. Charles Fries, American English Grammar, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1940, p. 206ff.

5. George Curme, Syntax, D.C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1931, p. 259ff.

6. H. Poutsma, A Grammar of Late Modern English, Groningen, 1926-29.

7. Sidney Greenbaum, Studies in English Adverbial Usage, Longmans, London, 1969, pp. 15ff, 35ff.

8. loc. cit.

9. Some kind of referential similarity is a precondition of adding new information to the discourse with the help of additive relators. Such relators cannot bring together sentences which are not otherwise related to each other in a meaningful way: "*Jack works in the forest and Jim is also a bus conductor." However, the relationship need not be direct (e.g. "Jack works in the forest and Jim works in the forest too"); it may easily be expressed with different lexical material (e.g. "Jack works in the forest and Jim is a lumberman too";

it is an interesting reflection on the semantic reference of "work in the forest" that the sentence "?? Jack works in the forest and Jim is a forester/game-keeper too" is of doubtful grammaticality). In the example "She is editor of the school paper. She is likewise chairman of the social committee", the second sentence can be related to the first only if the first does not mean what it apparently says (that is, the information that she edits the school paper) but rather something like this: /Look how active she is in the life of the school. Here is an instance. / She is editor of the school paper. /Here is another instance. / She is likewise chairman of the social committee. Similar considerations to those here explicated will also obtain to a greater or less degree with regard to all other classes of relators.

10. The Serbo-Croatian relator a, like its English counterpart and, can be used in combination with many other relators. This will not be shown in the present master list but will form part of the subsequent analysis.

11. The use of this relator results in the sentence "John is tall and so is Bill". Obligatory conditions and transformations involved in the use of so remain to be specified in the analytical part of the study.

12. S_1 is negative in form. The sentence with the feature /NEG/ is made negative by the relator. Notice also the obligatory inversion: "The children were not shouting. Neither/Nor was the dog barking."

13. Notice the syntactic patterning of the two relators:

    He doesn't know how to boil an egg, much less (can he) make an omelette.

    He doesn't know how to boil an egg, let alone (*can he) make an omelette.

    The same is true of their Serbo-Croatian correspondents:

    On ne zna skuhati jaje, a još manje (zna) napraviti omlet.

    On ne zna skuhati jaje, a kamo li (*zna) napraviti omlet.

    (However, "On ne zna skuhati jaje, a kamo li da bi znao napraviti omlet.")

14. Among the semantic components of these three items we find not only "illustrative" but also "detracting": S_2 illustrates S_1, but the relator implies that S_1 is in fact somewhat less positive than it would appear if S_2 were used without the relator in question.

15. These relators de-emphasize or soften the impact of S_2.

16. These four items prepare the reader/listener for an emphatically derogatory restatement of S_1.

17. Unlike the preceding relators, these four items all occupy the initial position in S_1.

18. With this relator, retrospective reference is to something opposite from what would normally be expected: "He was not an important man politically. Disregarding that, he was the mayor's hand-picked successor."

19. With these four relators the inference is less strong.

20. The use of this relator necessitates clause inversion: "He must be here, for his shoes are here."

21. Notice the various syntactic repercussions of the use of individual relators from this group:

> He changed money because he needed German marks. Because he needed German marks, he changed money.
>
> He needed German marks. He changed money on that account.
>
> Knowing/Realizing that he needed German marks, he changed money.
>
> He needed German marks. With that in mind he changed money.

22. Assumed rather than actual reason is introduced with these two relators.

23. "He drove to New York for the purpose/with the aim of seeing the show."

24. "He wanted to see the show. To that end he drove to New York."
"He wanted to see the show. He drove to New York with that aim."

25. "He drove to New York hoping that he might see the show."

26. "He drove to New York in hopes of seeing the show."
"He drove to New York in hopes that he might see the show."

27. Nominalization is possible but not obligatory when this relator is used. Both of the following sentences are acceptable:

He lost control of the car, thereby knocking down the power line.

He lost control of the car. Thereby he knocked down the power line.

28. Notice that the adverbial element within parentheses may change in different contexts:

(a) The government taxes income depending on how much the worker earns.

(b) The prizes were awarded according to how successfully the athletes performed.

In cases of nominalization the parenthetic adverbial phrase will not appear:

A good teacher gives high grades according to the students' knowledge of the subject.

29. So ... that requires an adverb to make the relator one expressing degree. In this context, for example, much, successfully, well, effectively, etc. will fit.

30. Notice how the structure changes when this relator is used: "It was such a pretty song that we were delighted."

31. All these relators require that S_1 should be /NEG/: "If/assuming/provided/ in the event that you don't arrive home by five, I'll leave without you."

32. This relator requires imperative S_1: "Be home by five. Otherwise I'll leave without you."

33. Nominalization is obligatory with this relator: "Following his election as President, Michael appointed officers."

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THE SOURCE OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

Introduction. In a recent paper Sandra Annear Thompson[1] questioned the generally accepted assumption of transformational grammar that "the appropriate underlying representation for a relative clause sentence involves a sentence embedded into a noun phrase."[2] Instead of the quoted assumption she suggests that "the appropriate underlying representation for a relative clause sentence is a conjunction."[3] Annear Thompson starts from the assumption that a relative clause is structurally superfluous as it plays no role whatever with respect to the main verb, the relative clause and the main sentence being equivalent to two independent predications on the same argument. The main difference between embedded clauses which function as subjects or objects of the main verb and the relative embedded clauses, is that the first are structurally obligatory arguments of the main verb whereas the latter are superfluous and only superficially embedded.

We shall question some of the assumptions put forth in Annear Thompson's paper and will try to demonstrate that at least two distinct kinds of logical relations underlie relative clauses in relative sentences. It will emerge that the difference between the two kinds of logical relations is borne out by the difference in constraints that apply to certain verbal categories in the predicate. We shall also demonstrate that the subclassification of relative clauses into

restrictive and appositive (henceforth referred to as R and A) is justified on structural grounds and will try to give formal support to the intuitive feeling that certain R relative clauses are non-omissible. We shall also adduce examples, by way of a reminder, of some well known structures in which a sentence containing a relative clause does not have two independent predications in the underlying structure.

Relative clauses and determiners. We shall not deal with rules of relative clause formation, which have been extensively dealt with in the literature,[4] but should like to question the crucial status that determiners have been accorded in the formation of relative clauses in Smith (1964). Smith bases her theory of relative clauses on the selectional restrictions between determiners and relative clauses, and states that the grammaticalness of a relative clause "depends on the determiner of the containing noun phrase and the kind of relative that occurs with it."[5] Smith says that when the selectional restrictions between determiners and relative clauses are stated, three classes of determiners emerge: those accepting only A relative clauses, those accepting both A and R relatives, and those accepting only R relatives. Then she concludes that "these classes correspond to an intuitive classification of determiners as to definiteness, definiteness being associated with A relative clauses and indefiniteness with R relative clauses." (p. 38) The three above mentioned classes which are based on selectional restrictions between determiners and relative clauses she names: Unique, Specified, and Unspecified, to differentiate them from traditional definite and indefinite determiners. Smith states that indefiniteness is

associated with restrictive relative clauses, so that indefinite determiners such as any, all, etc. occur with them; that specified determiners such as a, the, ∅ are also acceptable in R relative clauses; whereas the unique determiner (proper names) is acceptable only in A relative clauses. The only positive rule that emerges from this correlation of determiners with relative clauses is the observation that unique determiners exclude R clauses and that indefinite determiners such as any and all exclude A relative clauses. The rest of the determiners are shared (numerals and quantifiers are not mentioned, nor do they appear in the examples adduced in the paper.) It seems to us that such a theory of relative clauses, based as it is on the surface distribution of determiners, is lacking in explanatory power. The very fact that most determiners may modify both the antecedents of R relative clauses and A relative clauses points to the suspicion that there must be some more basic consideration underlying the choice of the relative clause, and that the spelling of the determiner is the result of some other rule, which itself may not be structurally determined but may rather be called forth by certain presuppositions or by context in the discourse. Smith does not disengage for us the use of two kinds of determiner a in the two following examples which we quote from her paper:

(1) They pointed to a dog, who was looking at him hopefully.
(2) They pointed to a dog who was looking at him hopefully.

nor does she mention the non-obvious distinction which would seem to inhere

in the following two R clauses:

(3) They brought in a chair that had a metal back.
(4) They brought in the chair that had a metal back.

As both a chair in (3) and the chair in (4) are specified (referential) it is evident that the choice of the determiner in (3) and (4) is not structurally determined and we therefore agree with Annear Thompson's assumption that the choice of definite determiner correlates with certain presuppositions of the speaker as to the extent of his listener's knowledge.[6] If we went only by surface distribution of determiners and their correlation with relative clauses it would be impossible to account for the acceptability of (6) and (7) and the unacceptability of (9), so long as we do not complicate the argument irrelevantly by considerations of different kinds of social role which may in some societies qualify under the term "mother".[7]

(5) John, who lives in America, is a doctor.	Jovan, koji živi u Americi, je lekar.
(6) My brother, who lives in America, is a doctor.	Moj brat, koji živi u Americi, je doktor.
(7) My brother who lives in America is a doctor.	Moj brat koji živi u Americi je doktor.
(8) My mother, who lives in America, is a doctor.	Moja majka, koja živi u Americi, je doktor.
(9) *My mother who lives in America is a doctor.	* Moja majka koja živi u Americi je doktor.

The difference in the acceptability of the above examples, to which we shall return later, cannot be accounted for either by the choice of determiners or by the source of the relative sentences. Neglecting irrelevant details the above examples each have two clauses in the underlying structure.

(10) ((John is a doctor) (John lives in America))	((Jovan je lekar) (Jovan živi u Americi))
(11) ((My brother is a doctor) (My brother lives in A.))	((Moj brat je lekar) (Moj brat živi u A.))
(12) ((My mother is a doctor) (My mother lives in A.))	((Moja majka je lekar) (Moja majka živi u A.))

Restrictive relative clauses vs Appositive relative clauses. As we were not able to correlate the difference between R relative clauses and A relative clauses in (5) - (9) either with the choice of determiner or with different source sentences we shall first try to state the basic difference between R and A relative clauses, whatever their underlying structures may be.

(I) The A relative clause ranges over an NP which represents a set in its entirety.

The rule is easily demonstrated by such antecedent NPs whose referents inherently belong to a singleton set (a set with one element), as in the examples (13) and (14).

(13) Nikola Tesla, who was a Yugoslav, made very important discoveries in the field of electricity.	Nikola Tesla, koji je bio Jugosloven, napravio je vrlo značajna otkrića na polju elektriciteta.
(14) My mother, who is a doctor, lives in America.	Moja majka, koja je lekar, živi u Americi.

But it would be very difficult to account for the A relative clause in (15) if rule (I) were not correct. I accept here for purposes of the argument the example furnished by Vendler[8].

(15) She loves a man, who lives in Pairs.	Ona voli jednog čoveka, koji živi u Parizu.

though it might provide more natural and equally pertinent English if we were to substitute the example (15').

(15') She loves a certain man (or some man), who lives in Paris.[9]	Ona voli izvesnog čoveka (nekog čoveka), koji živi u Parizu.

The set of men she loves consists of one member and (15) can be paraphrased:

(16) The man she loves lives in Paris.	Čovek koga ona voli živi u Parizu.

(15) and (16) are akin, but they differ in the supposed knowledge of the hearer.[10] (In (16) the speaker presupposes that the hearer already knows of the existence of the man and now he informs him that the man lives in Paris.) If the set of men she loved consisted of more than one member we could have the following sentence:

(17) A man she loves lives in Pairs.	Jedan čovek koga ona voli živi u Parizu.

We hope to have demonstrated so far that the choice of determiner is not crucial in differentiating R relative clauses from A relative clauses. Let us now look at some examples taken from Delorme and Dougherty[11] [examples (18) and (19)] and Annear Thompson[12] [examples (20) and (21)].

(18) He presents few examples, which strongly support his case.[13]	On iznosi malo primera, koji čvrsto podržavaju njegovu tezu.
(19) He presents few examples which strongly support his case.	On iznosi malo primera koji čvrsto podržavaju njegovu tezu.
(20) Three boys, who had beards, were at the party.	Tri dečaka, koji su imali brade, bili su na prijemu.
(21) Three boys who had beards were at the party.	Tri dečaka koji su imali brade bili su na prijemu.

Delorme and Dougherty state that the A relative clause in (18) modifies the NP few examples and that the R relative clause in (19) modifies the N examples. Annear Thompson argues that "restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clause sentences with numeral associated with the head nouns do have different representations." (p. 87) We want to demonstrate that there is nothing exceptional about an antecedent NP which is preceded by a numeral or quantifier. On the contrary the same principle in distinguishing R from A relative clauses underlies both those NPs which are preceded by quantifiers and numerals and those that are not. The above examples are particularly felicitous for demonstrating what the underlying difference between R and A relative clauses is.[14]

(II) The R relative clause ranges over a subset and it is required in order to delimit the subset.

In (18) few examples represents the whole set of examples that is presented and the A relative clause can be omitted without causing ambiguity. In (19) the set of examples that are presented consists of a certain number of examples (probably a considerable number), but the subset of examples which is delimited by the relative clause which support his case consists of few examples. The R relative clause is non-omissible as it is required to delimit the subset. In (20) the set of boys who were at the party consisted of three members, the relative who had beards ranges over the whole set and its omission causes no ambiguity, whereas in (21) the set of the boys who were at the party consisted of more than three boys. The three boys who had beards constitute a subset of all the boys who were at the party. The R relative clause is required to delimit the subset.

We shall now adduce examples of generically determined NPs which are followed by relative clauses.

(22) A snake, which is a reptile, has moveable ribs.	Zmija, koja je puzavac, ima pokretna rebra.

A snake in (22), though grammatically singular, refers to all members of the set. Optionally this sentence can have the semantic element plural introduced, whose precise force is not entirely clear and seems strongly stylistic.

(23) Snakes, which are reptiles, have moveable ribs.	Zmije, koje su puzavci, imaju pokretna rebra.

The underlying structures of (22) and (23) being the same, we shall only represent the source of (22) (neglecting irrelevant details).

(24) (A snake is a reptile) and (A snake has moveable ribs)	(Zmija je puzavac) i (Zmija ima pokretna rebra)

If we delete the relative clause which is a reptile in (22) the matrix sentence is not affected either structurally or semantically.

(25) A snake has moveable ribs.	Zmija ima pokretna rebra.

In the following example:

(26) A snake which is poisonous is dangerous.	Zmija koja je otrovnica opasna je.

(Or: Snakes which are poisonous are dangerous. Zmije koje su otrovnice opasne su.) the R relative clause which is poisonous (which are poisonous) delimits the subset of snakes over which the predicate dangerous ranges and the relative clause is non-omissible. If we delete the R relative clause in (26) we are left with a semantically non-equivalent sentence [(26) is true and (27) is false].

(27) A snake is dangerous.	Zmija je opasna.

(Or: Snakes are dangerous. Zmije su opasne.) The predicate of the matrix sentence (is dangerous) holds good only if a snake (or: snakes) refers to the subset delimited by the relative clause which is poisonous (which are poisonous). The logical relation in (26) is not that of conjoining [(A snake is poisonous) and (A snake is dangerous)]. The logical form of (22) could be:

(28) $(x)\ x \varepsilon S \rightarrow R(x) \wedge M(x)$

That is: for all values x, if x is an element of the set S, then x has the property of being R and x has the property of being M (M stands for the whole predicate: has moveable ribs). (28) demonstrates clearly that the logical relation underlying (22) is that of conjoining. On the other hand the logical relation underlying (26) could be represented as follows:

(29) $(x)\ x \varepsilon S \rightarrow (P(x) \rightarrow D(x))$

That is: for all values of x, if x is a snake, then, if x has the predicate P, it also has the predicate D. (In our example (26), P is the property of being poisonous, and D is the property of being dangerous.) The underlying logical relation in (22) is that of conjoining (the enumeration of properties which do not imply each other), and the underlying logical relation in (26) is that of implication. Such sentences as (26) are inherently complex. In order to support our assumption that the correlation between modifiers and the choice of relative clauses is not justified we shall adduce an example of a R relative clause with an underlying implicative relation, in which the antecedent NP is preceded by the definite article.[15]

(30) The film that is awarded a prize at the next festival will be shown in all the European capitals.	Film kome bude dodeljena nagrada na sledećem festivalu biće prikazan u svima evropskim prestonicama.

In (30) the logical relation between the matrix sentence and the embedded clause is again one of implication (for all values of x, if x is a film, then, if x is awarded a prize, it will also be shown in all the European capitals). (30) is again a type of inherently complex sentence. That such relative sentences differ from those which have a conjoining relation as their source is borne out by the fact that certain constraints on the use of certain auxiliaries in verbal groups referring to anticipated events hold good for them both in E and S-C.

Grammatical criteria for distinguishing two types of R relative clauses.

(31) Students who have passed all the tests by next June will be allowed to sit for the exam.	Studentima koji budu položili sve testove do sledećeg juna biće dozvoljeno da polažu ispit.
(32) *Students who will pass all the tests by next June will be allowed	*Studentima koji će položiti sve testove do sledećeg juna biće dozvoljeno .....
(33) The film that will be shown has been awarded a prize.	Film koji će se prikazivati dobio je nagradu.
(34) John, who will take all the tests before the end of June, will be allowed to sit for the exam.	Jovanu, koji će raditi sve testove pre kraja juna, biće dozvoljeno da polaže ispit.

From the examples (31)-(33) it emerges that there are two types of R relative clauses. We shall call the R relative in (31) type (a). In type (a) R relative clauses the underlying relation between the relative clause and the matrix sentence is implicative, such relative clauses are inherently complex, the

relative clause is non-omissible as it serves to delimit the subset over which the main predicate ranges, and such relative clauses do not permit the use of will in verbal phrases referring to anticipated events. The R relative clause in (33) will be called type (b). In type (b) the source of the relative sentence is two conjoined sentences; such relative clauses allow the use of will in verbal phrases referring to anticipated events and the relative may be deleted without causing either structural or semantic deviance (The film has been awarded a prize.). The same kind of distinction is observed in S-C. In the relative clause (31), which has an underlying implicative relation, the auxiliary budem (budeš, bude, etc.) or the present perfective (koji polože) is required in verbal groups referring to anticipated events and ću(ćeš, će, etc.) is not allowed (32), whereas in type (b) R relative clauses (33) ću (ćeš, će, etc.) is required as a future auxiliary.

Examples (33) and (34) demonstrate that both in E and S-C type (b) R relative clauses and A relative clauses allow the use of will, ću (ćeš, će, etc.) respectively, as a future auxiliary. This is correlated to the fact that A relative clause sentences and type (b) R relative clause sentences have as their source two conjoined sentences. That our assumption is correct is borne out by the fact that A relatives and type (b) R relatives accept the same future auxiliary as main sentences, whereas type (a) R relatives accept the same future auxiliaries as adverbial clauses introduced by when, as soon as, after, before, if. In type (a) R relative clauses, like in the adverbial clauses introduced by the above mentioned conjunctions, in the so-called future perfect will from the underlying

form is obligatorily deleted in E, and in S-C budem (budeš, bude, etc.) is selected as the future auxiliary.

(35) *The student who will have passed all the exams by next June will get a grant.	*Student koji će položiti sve ispite do sledećeg juna dobiće stipendiju.
(36) The student who has passed all the exams by next June will get a grant.	Student koji bude položio sve ispite do sledećeg juna dobiće stipendiju.
(37) *As soon as I will have finished washing the dishes we'll go for a walk.	*Čim ću završiti sa pranjem sudova ići ćemo u šetnju.
(38) As soon as I have finished washing the dishes we'll go for a walk.	Čim budem završila sa pranjem sudova ići ćemo u šetnju.

Relative clauses that have a source in one predicate sentence. Having ascertained that the underlying representation of all relative clause sentences is not a conjunction as stated by Annear Thompson, we should like to question another assumption of the same author, namely that "a relative clause sentence is equivalent to two predications on the same argument."[16]

In the relative sentences we have dealt with so far there have always been two predications sharing a referentially identical NP. It will be evident from the following pairs of sentences, which are logically equivalent but linguistically different, that sentences in examples (b) do not have a source in two independent predications.

(39) a. We keep milk in this bottle.	Držimo mleko u ovoj boci.
b. This is the bottle we keep milk in.	Ovo je boca u kojoj držimo mleko.

(40) a.	A policeman is waiting outside.	Jedan policajac čeka napolju.
b.	There is a policeman (who is) waiting outside.	Ima jedan policajac koji čeka napolju.

As can be seen from the above examples relative clauses play a significant role in sentences where one of the arguments is raised to a superordinate position by being transformed into a seemingly predicational form while the rest of the sentence (including the predicate) is turned into a relative clause which contains the reflex of the raised constituent.[17] It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss whether such a transformation requires the introduction of a stylistic or rhetorical component into the grammar.[18] But we should like to point out that all natural languages must have sentences which are derived by means of the transformational process of dislocation, which raises a constituent into a superordinate position in order to achieve emphasis. In E, S-C, French and many IE languages relative clauses play a significant role in such structures and that entitles us to question another of Annear Thompson's assumptions, namely that "A relative clause is always structurally superfluous."[19]

Summary. From the above discussion several points emerge. Firstly, it is not justified to posit the same underlying structure for all relative clauses as suggested by Annear Thompson. Secondly, the subclassification of relative clauses into A and R clauses is justified both on logical and structural grounds, as A relative clauses, which are omissible, are always embedded into NPs whose referents refer to a set in its entirety, whereas R relative clauses are embedded into NPs whose referents refer to subsets (Three boys, who had

beards, were at the party, Three boys who had beards were at the party.). Th.ur, there is a crossclassification which divides R relative clauses into two types. In a type (a) R relative clause sentence (which has an underlying implicative relation and is inherently complex) the relative clause is a non-omissible constituent, whereas in a type (b) R relative clause sentence (with an underlying conjoining relation) the omission of the relative clause does not result in a structurally or semantically deviant sentence (He carried a chair which was almost as big as himself. He carried a chair.). This difference is correlated with a difference in constraints imposed on the admissibility of the auxiliary will in verbal groups referring to anticipated events.

The assumptions discussed in this paper, which relate to the source of relative clauses, are not of purely theoretical interest. They have important implications for practical teaching as they are correlated to the difference in use of auxiliaries in verbal phrases referring to future events.[23]

NOTES

1. Annear Thompson (1971).
2. ibid., p. 79.
3. ibid., p. 79.
4. Klima (1964), Smith (1964), Chomsky (1965), Lakoff (1970), Ross (1967), Langendoen (1969), Sanders and Tai (1972), and others. Rules pertaining to the use of relative pronouns in S-C have been dealt with by Maček (1970).
5. Smith (1964, 38).
6. Annear Thompson (1971, 80).
7. It is also possible that (7) would be just unacceptable (in case Mr. X has only one brother), but a reader will immediately acknowledge the clear

unacceptability of (9), because his advanced knowledge of mothers is rather better than that of Mr. X's family kin-chart.

8. Vendler (1968, 80).
9. The form "some man" or "some man or other" would appear in colloquial speech, but it is not preferred in written English.
10. Bierwisch (1970, 31) : "This feature (= the feature DEFINITE), characteristically realized by the definite article in languages displaying articles, indicates that the set forming the reference instance is already given and uniquely identifiable by means of the perspective predicative features. DEFINITE thus corresponds in a sense to the iota-operator which forms definite descriptions. But whereas the iota-operator is bound to unique individuals, the feature DEFINITE applies to uniquely specified sets - those containing one element being a special case."
11. Delorme and Dougherty (1972, footnote 4, p. 9).
12. Annear Thompson (1971, 87).
13. This example would be more natural with "however" or "nevertheless":

    He presents few examples, which however strongly support his case.

    or if few were substituted by "a few":

    He presents a few examples.....
14. Annear Thompson (87) states: "I can see no way in which such a difference as that which exists between restrictive and non-restrictive could be presented in a consistent way for all such sentences in terms of underlying structural distinctions."
15. Both Vendler and Annear Thompson consider sentences in which the R relative clause is preceded by a generic determiner as having a special status. Annear Thompson (p. 83) admits that a relative clause sentence which contains a relative clause with a generic head noun does not have a conjunction as its source. Both Annear Thompson (p. 83) and Vendler (p. 24) say that such sentences are derived from the representation which underlies an if-then sentence. But neither of them pursues the point any further, nor do they mention examples of relative sentences with R relatives dominated by non-generic NPs which have an underlying implicative relation.

16. Annear Thompson (p. 79).
17. See: Mihailović (1972, 87-88) for a discussion of the motivation for deriving sentences such as (40b).
18. Kay (1970, 513-517): "Expressions in natural language can be logically equivalent without being linguistically equivalent. The sentence "It was the lion that was afraid of the unicorn" is true if and only if the sentence "The lion was afraid of the unicorn" is true. But ... the latter can be used in places where the former is anomalous .... the difference between them should be accounted for on some other basis. (513) ... expressions that adequately represent the meanings of sentences will almost certainly have to contain rhetorical predicates, that is, predicates that do not influence the truth value of the sentences in which they occur but which relate the information in a given sentence to a whole discourse...." (517)
19. Annear Thompson (p. 79).
20. This paper was received in September, 1972.

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SOME PREDICATE COMPLEMENT CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGLISH AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS IN SERBO-CROATIAN

1. This paper is concerned with those kinds of predicate which involve object complementation in English and the corresponding structures in SC. It deals specifically with structures where the complement of the object is one of the non-finite forms of the verb, namely: the infinitive, the -ing form, and the past participle.

What follows is based on the surface structure manifestations of the phenomenon under discussion, with practically no attempt to enter into theoretical details. Theoretical considerations, it is felt, deserve a separate treatment and call for a different approach altogether.

2. There are a number of English verbs whose object NP is followed by an infinitive, with or without to, thus forming what is known as the 'accusative with infinitive' construction. That the NP is an object can be seen from the use of distinctive objective forms with pronouns having them (me, him, her, us, them), e.g.:

(1) Who invited her to come?
(1SC) Ko ju je pozvao da dodje?

and from the fact that the NP becomes the subject of the main verb when the sentence is passivized.

2.1. Corresponding to an objective form in English we normally find an accusative in SC. E.g.:

(2) They warned me not to be late.
(2SC) Opomenuli su me da ne zadocnim.

In both languages these sentences can be made passive, thus producing:

(2p) I was warned not to be late.
(2SCp) Opomenut sam da ne zadocnim.

2.2. A dative form in SC may also correspond to an objective form followed by the infinitive in English. E.g.:

(3) They helped John to build the house.
(3SC) Pomogli su Džonu da sagradi kuću.

In the passive, the English object becomes the subject:

(3p) John was helped to build the house.

The SC dative object remains dative, since in general only accusative objects can become subjects of SC passives:

(3SCp) Džonu je pomognuto da sagradi kuću.

2.3. In some cases, however, we find that a nominative form in SC corresponds to the objective form in English. E.g.:

(4) Do you want me to stay?
(4SC) Želiš li da (ja) ostanem?

Practical rule: where there is no object in SC, as in (4SC), of course, no passive can be made; and, although in English there appears to be an object, no passive can be made in English either: *Am I wanted to stay?

2.4. The SC equivalent is thus normally either an object + a clause with da, as in (1-3SC), or a da-clause alone as in (4SC). In either case, the subject of the da-clause is understood to be the same as the object of the main verb.

Two SC verbs allow an object + infinitive construction:

naučiti, učiti 'teach' with the accusative:

(5) Učim Džona plivati.
(5E) I'm teaching John to swim.

and:

pomoći, pomagati 'help' with the dative:

(6) Pomogli su Džonu (sa)graditi kuću.
(6E) They helped John build a house.

although many speakers, particularly Eastern, prefer clauses with da.[1]

2.5. There being only one objective form in English, 'object with infinitive' seems to be a more appropriate name for such constructions in this language than 'accusative with infinitive'.

3. The object with a to-infinitive is found in English after verbs denoting (a kind of) volition, such as: ask, command, force, like, order, request, require, want, wish. E.g.:

(7) He asked me to come.
(7SC) Zamolio me je da dodjem.

(8) He ordered me to stay in bed.
(8SC) Naredio mi je da ostanem u postelji.

(9) He wants me to go.
(9SC) (On) želi da (ja) idem.

It may be mentioned here that some of these verbs, such as ask, command, order, request, for instance, are not used in this construction if the object of the governing verb is a nexus. In such cases a that-clause is used instead. E.g.:

(10) They requested them (the visitors) not to touch the exhibits.
(10SC) Zamolili su ih (posetioce) da ne diraju eksponate.

But: (11AE) They requested that the next meeting be on Russian soil.

(11BE) They requested that the next meeting should be on Russian soil.

(11SC) Zamolili su da sledeći sastanak bude na ruskom tlu.

and not: * They requested it (the next meeting) to be on Russian soil.

Nor: * Zamolili su ga (sledeći sastanak) da bude na ruskom tlu.

3.1. The object + to-infinitive is also found in formal English after verbs indicating a belief, judgement, opinion, supposition, or mental perception, such as: believe, prove, consider, suppose, think, for instance. To these such verbs as declare, deny and report may also be added.

The infinitive is typically to be, but not always; e.g. They believed him to have gone.

The to be, itself often omitted, is followed by a complement, which may be an adjective:

(12) Most people consider him (to be) innocent.
(12SC) Većina ljudi ga smatra nevinim.

or a noun:

(13AE, BE) Do you think him to be a good worker?
(13BE) Do you think him a good worker?
(13SC) Smatrate li ga dobrim radnikom?

A sentence with the verb 'misliti' in this construction, i.e. *'Mislite li ga dobrim radnikom?' is not acceptable in SC.

3.1.1. It should not be inferred from this, however, that the construction with the instrumental is the only equivalent construction in SC of the above construction in English. Since there are a number of restrictions due to what

appear to be semantic grounds, this, of course, is not the case. The most common SC equivalent, in fact, is a separate clause with da. E.g.:

(14) They proved him (to be) guilty.
(14SC) Dokazali su da je kriv.

and not: *Dokazali su ga krivim.

Our primary goal being English and its constructions, no attempt is being made here to go into great detail about the data of SC. Still, it should be pointed out that (14SC) is the exact equivalent of the English sentence 'They proved that he was guilty', which is characteristic of the informal style.

3.1.2. All the English sentences have their counterparts in the passive, with or without to be, namely:

(12p) He is considered (to be) innocent.
(13p) Is he thought to be a good worker?
(14p) He was proved (to be) guilty.

3.1.3. In SC we find the following:

(12SCa) On se smatra nevinim.
(12SCb) Smatra se da je on nevin.

(13SCa) Smatra li se on dobrim radnikom?
(13SCb) Smatra li se da je on dobar radnik?

(14SCa) Dokazalo se da je on kriv.
(14SCb) Dokazano je da je on kriv.

It is noteworthy that (12SCa) and (13SCa) are in fact ambiguous, since they may equally stand for 'On smatra sebe nevinim' (He considers himself innocent), and 'Smatra li on sebe nevinim?' (Does he consider himself innocent?) respectively.

3.2. With the verb know the infinitive to be cannot be omitted. E.g.:

(15) They know him to be a spy.
(15SC) Znaju da je špijun.

3.2.1. The same is true of the verb report if the complement of to be is a noun or a noun phrase. E.g.:

(16) Everyone reported him to be the best man for the job.

Cf. (17) Everyone reported him missing.

(18) Everyone reported him killed.

3.3. The perfect infinitive to have been can never been omitted. E.g.:

(19) They proved themselves (to be) worthy of promotion.

(20) They proved themselves to have been worthy of promotion.

4. The infinitive without to may follow the object NP of verbs indicating physical perception. E.g.:

(21) I saw him cross the street.
(21SC) Video sam (ga) kako je prešao ulicu.

(22) Did anyone hear them come in?
(22SC) Da li ih je iko čuo kad su ulazili?

If made passive, these sentences would produce:

(21p) He was seen to cross the street.

(22p) Were they heard to come in?

As these examples show, the infinitive with to is needed in the passive. For this particular type of sentence there seem to be no natural or even possible passive forms in SC, unless we were to accept 'Vidjen je kad je prešao ulicu' for (21SCp).

4.1. In SC, instead of the perfect we find the present tense corresponding to the English infinitive if the SC verb is non-perfective. E.g.:

(23) Did you ever see a man die before?
(23SCa) Jesi li ikada ranije video čoveka kako umire?

and: (23SCb) Jesi li ikada ranije video kako čovek umire?

(24) I heard her sing a year ago.
(24SC) Čuo sam je (kako peva) pre godinu dana.

The bracketed part would normally be omitted if the sentence refers to somebody closely connected with singing.

4.2. In addition to the verbs indicating physical perceptions, a small number of other verbs are used in this construction, the causative make being one of them. E.g.:

(25) They made me do it.
(25SC) Naterali su me da to učinim.

(26) Let me go to town.
(26SC) Pusti me da idem u grad.

The passive versions of these sentences are as follows:

(25p) I was made to do it.
(25SCp) Nateran sam da to učinim.

As this example shows, the infinitive with to is required in the passive form of this verb.

Since the verb let is not normally used in the passive, the vert allow is used instead. Therefore we get:

(26p) I was allowed to go to town.
(26SCp) Dopušteno mi je da idem u grad.

4.3. With some verbs the infinitive may be found both with and without to. E.g.:

(27) Shall I help you (to) carry this box upstairs?

(28) Have you ever known her (to) lose her temper?

According to some grammarians, the to-infinitive with the the verb help is characteristic of BE, while that without to is more common in AE. As for (28), the to-infinitive seems to be preferred both in AE and BE, although some

native speakers of BE take both versions as completely interchangeable.

4.4. We may note again that only the infinitive with to occurs in the passive versions of these sentences, namely:

(27p) Would you like to be helped to carry this box upstairs?

(28p) Has she ever been known to lose her temper??

5. Verbs indicating physical perceptions are also used in a similar construction involving the present participle instead of the infinitive, the so-called 'telescoped progressive' (v. Fillmore). E.g.:

(29) I saw him crossing the street.
(29SC) Video sam ga kako prelazi ulicu.

(30) I heard him giving orders.
(30SC) Čuo sam ga kako izdaje naredjenja.

These sentences, if made passive, would produce:

(29p) He was seen crossing the street.
(29SCp) Vidjen je kako prelazi ulicu.

(30p) He was heard giving orders.
(30SCp) Čuo se kako izdaje naredjenja.

5.1. In this construction we also find some verbs not indicating physical perception, such as catch and find. E.g.:

(31) I caught him stealing apples.
(31SC) Uhvatio sam ga kako krade jabuke.

(32) I found him working at his desk.
(32SC) Zatekao sam ga kako radi za stolom.

In the passive they would produce:

(31p) He was caught stealing apples.
(31SCp) Uhvaćen je kako krade jabuke.

(32p) He was found working at his desk.
(32SCp) Zatečen je kako radi za stolom.

5.2. A telescoped progressive is the exclusive non-finite complement occurring with verbs like keep, set, start, and stop when they have objects.

E.g.: (33) We mustn't keep them waiting.
(33SC) Ne smemo ih pustiti da čekaju.

(34) They left me waiting outside.
(34SC) Ostavili su me da čekam napolju.

And in the passive:

(33p) They mustn't be kept waiting.
(33SCp) Ne smeju biti pušteni da čekaju.

(34) I was left waiting outside.
(34SCp) Ostavljen sam da čekam napolju.

Admittedly, (33SCp) is not very likely to occur. However, if the verb 'pustiti' is replaced by 'ostaviti', we would get a more acceptable sentence, namely 'Ne smeju biti ostavljeni da čekaju'.

We may also note that SC equivalents of these sentences contain the word 'da' instead of 'kako' which occurs, or can occur, in sentences discussed in 5. and 5.1. See 6.2. below.

6. In connection with sections 4. and 5. the following points should perhaps be made here:

6.1. The same sensory verbs are used in both constructions, one involving the infinitive without to, the other the present participle of the complementary verb.

The first is used to denote a completed action, as in:

(21) I saw him cross the street.

the second to denote an action still in progress, as in:

(29) I saw him crossing the street.

These two sentences could be analysed, following Palmer, as:

(21) I saw him + He crossed the street.

and: (29) I saw him + He was crossing the street.

However, sentences like the following do not seem to be analysable in the same way:

(35) I saw him play Hamlet last night.

and: (36) I saw him playing Hamlet last night.

The possible distinction is that in (35) the emphasis falls slightly more strongly on him, and in (36) on Hamlet. Apparently something more than progressive vs. non-progressive (or completed) is involved here. The problem being not as straightforward as it might at first appear, we feel that it should be dealt with separately.

6.1.1. It seems that the construction with the infinitive in English may mean two different things as regards the number of actions expressed by the verb. It may refer to one completed action, as in (21), but it may also refer to a number of repeated actions, as in:

(21b) I saw him cross the street several times.

This particular sentence, however, seems to be interchangeable, or nearly so, with:

(29b) I saw him crossing the street several times.

at least for some native speakers of English.

6.1.2. Although the same sensory verbs are used in both of these constructions, other verbs make use of one to the exclusion of the other.

So we say: (37) I made (let) him do that.

and not: (37a) *I made (let) him doing that.

So also: (38) I found (kept, left) him waiting for me.

but not: (38a) *I found (kept, left) him wait for me.

Of these, only the verb leave is also found with a to-infinitive. Cf.:

(39) I left him talking to Harry.
(39SC) Ostavio sam ga dok je razgovarao sa Harijem.

and: (40) I left him to talk to Harry by himself.
(40SC) Ostavio sam ga da sam razgovara sa Harijem.

Obviously the time reference expressed by the forms of the complement verb is different in these two constructions. While the infinitive forms (with and without to) refer to an action subsequent to that expressed by the governing verb, the participle refers to an action that both preceded and followed the action of the governing verb and was for a time simultaneous with it.

6.2. As regards SC, besides 'da' other sentence connectors may be found in sentences corresponding to those in English which involve these two constructions, namely 'da' and 'gde' (according to what seems to be a personal preference). In addition to these the adverb 'kad' may be found with the construction containing the infinitive, and 'dok' with the construction containing the present participle, corresponding thus more closely to English structures involving when and while respectively.

6.2.1. As (21SC) and (29SC) show, a distinction between perfective and non-perfective seems to be observed in these constructions, perfective verbs being used with the infinitive construction, and non-perfective with the participial construction. This, however, is not always the case, as (24SC), i.e. 'Čuo sam je (kako peva) pre godinu dana', clearly shows.

6.2.2. So far as tense is concerned we find that both the perfect and the present tenses are used in SC as equivalents of the infinitive in English, while it is natural that the present tense in SC should correspond to the present participle in English.

6.2.3. The object, if a pronoun, seems to be deletable more readily in the first than in the second type of sentence, as (21SC) and (29SC) show, namely:[2]

(21SC) Video sam (ga) kako je prešao ulicu.

(29SC) Video sam ga kako prelazi ulicu.

Nevertheless, the omission of the object pronoun in (30SC) would result in the partial loss of the information contained in the sentence. In other words, if we were to say:

(30SCa) Čuo sam kako ima laje naredjenja.

the sentence could be taken to mean that I heard from somebody else that he or she (another loss!) is in the habit of giving orders, while the original sentence, i.e.:

(30SC) Čuo sam ga kako izdaje naredjenja.

means only that I myself heard him giving orders on at least one occasion.

6.2.4. When the main verb has an object, the subject of the subordinate clause, if it is identical to this object, may be omitted. Cf.:

(21SCa) Video sam jednog čoveka kako je prešao ulicu.

(29SCa) Video sam jednog čoveka kako prelazi ulicu.

When the main verb has no object, the subject of the subordinate clause remains present, of course, unless it is omitted for some other reason. Cf.:

(21SCb) Video sam kako je jedan čovek prešao ulicu.

(29SCb) Video sam kako jedan čovek prelazi ulicu.

6.3. We must conclude, therefore, that the relationship between these two structures in English (as well as their corresponding structures in SC) is far from clear and that the above is to be taken as an approximation of how things stand in the two languages.

7. Some verbs, such as hate and like, for instance, in addition to a to-infinitive also take an -ing form as their complement. E.g.:

(41) They don't like his coming here.
(41SC) Oni ne vole (to) što on dolazi ovamo.

This, however, must be differently interpreted from the -ing form in section 5. In fact, what we are dealing with here is not the present participle, but the gerund.

We may also point out here that the SC equivalents of such verbs in this construction contain a new type of connector, i.e. 'što', and none of those found in sentences corresponding to the English object + present participle constructions.

7.1. Verbs such as forget, recall, remember, to name a few, are also to be found in this construction. E.g.:

(42) They remember his saying something like that.
(42SC) Oni se sećaju da je (on) tako nešto rekao.

But these verbs may also take a that-clause as their complement. E.g.:

(42a) They remember that he said something like that.

which is the exact equivalent of (42SC).

7.2. These sentences, if made passive, would produce:

(41p) His coming here is not liked.
(42p) His saying something like that is (still) remembered.

(Note the insertion of the adverb in case there is no emphasis on is).

8. Involving an -ing form, the following sentences are also found in English:

(43) They don't like him coming here.

(44) They remember him saying something like that.

8.1. These sentences have no counterparts in the passive. In other words, we do not find:

(43p) *He is not liked coming here.

(44p) *He is remembered saying something like that.

which is, of course, not to be confused with 'He is remembered for saying something like that'.

The passive, as we have seen, is normal with sentences containing the present participle. E.g.:

(45) They saw him coming here.

(45p) He was seen coming here.

The passive is also normal with sentences containing the gerund as (41p) and (42p) clearly show.

8.2. Some verbs, want for instance, appear only in this construction, namely:

(46) I don't want him coming here.

but never in the one involving the gerund:

(46a) *I don't want his coming here.

The reverse is true of some other verbs, such as forget:

(47) They forgot his having said that.

but not:

(47a) *They forgot him having said that.

Clearly, we are dealing here with semantic differences between the two constructions. While the one with the gerund treats the action expressed by

it as a fact, the other does not do so. Therefore we find that (48) is a contradictory sentence in English, while (49) is not:

(48) *They don't like his coming here, so he never does.

(49) They don't like him coming here, so he never does.[3]

8.2.1. The visible difference between the two constructions disappears, however, if the pronoun happens to be of feminine gender. E.g.:

(50) They don't like her coming here.
(50SCa) Oni ne vole da ona dolazi ovamo.
(50SCb) Oni ne vole to što ona dolazi ovamo.

8.2.2. The same is true, in the spoken language, of the plural and the possessive plural of nouns such as boy, for instance. E.g.:

(51) They don't like the boys coming here.
(51SC) Oni ne vole da dečaci dolaze ovamo.

(52) They don't like the boys' coming here.
(52SC) Oni ne vole to što dečaci dolaze ovamo.

9. The object NP may also be followed by a past participle. E.g.:

(53) Have you ever seen a man hanged?
(53SCa) Jesi li ikada video kako se veša čovek?
(53SCb) Jesi li ikada video kako vešaju čoveka?

Sentence (53SCa) is not to be confused with a similar sentence in SC, namely 'Jesi li ikada video čoveka kako se veša?', which is the exact equivalent of the English sentence 'Have you ever seen a man hang himself?' Needless to say, in both languages the complement verb is used here reflexively. There is, however, no possibility of mistaking the following for a reflexive construction:

(54) Have you ever seen a lion killed?
(54SCa) Jesi li ikada video kako se ubija lav?
(54SCb) Jesi li ikada video kako ubijaju lava?

or:

(55) I want this work finished quickly.
(55SCa) Hoću da se ovaj posao brzo obavi.
(55SCb) Hoću da ovaj posao bude brzo obavljen.

9.1. There are some sentences involving this construction in English which have no corresponding constructions in SC, so that equivalents of other structures have to be used instead. E.g.:

(56) He made his influence felt.
(56SCa) Učinio je (sve) da se njegov uticaj oseti.
(56SCb) Njegov se uticaj osetio.

The sentence under (a) without the word 'sve' is rather forced in SC, while with that word inserted it implies more effort on the part of the subject of the sentence than (56) does. The sentence under (b) on the other hand is nothing else but an equivalent of the English sentence 'His influence was felt'. Needless to say, other translations of (56) are also possible.

10. In conclusion we may say that owing to interference of the mother tongue SC speakers of English are likely to make two types of mistakes in trying to produce the content of the English sentences discussed above.

10.1. First, instead of a non-finite English form, they will be inclined, no doubt, to use that-clauses, or how-clauses, with a finite. By doing so they will sometimes produce unacceptable sentences in English, such as those marked as (Ea) and (Eb), instead of those marked as (E). E.g.:

(57) Recite nam što želite da znamo.
(57Ea) *Tell us what you want that we know.
(57E) Tell us what you want us to know.

(58) Video sam (ga) kako je izišao.
(58Ea) *I saw (him) how he came out.
(58E) I saw him come out.

(59) Video sam ga kako izlazi.
(59Ea) *I saw (him) how he comes out.
(59Eb) *I saw (him) how he is coming out.
(59E) I saw him coming out.

(60) Hoću da ovo pismo bude otkucano što pre.
(60Ea) *I want that this letter is typed as soon as possible.
(60E) I want this letter typed as soon as possible.

10.1.1 Sometimes, by using a that-clause instead of the object with infinitive construction, they may confuse two senses of a verb each of which is found in a particular construction. For example, if they were to say:

(61) Video sam da je udario mačku.

as: (61Ea) *I saw that he kicked the cat.

instead of:

(61E) I saw him kick the cat.

they would use a construction that is found with the verb see, but only when it indicates mental perception, as in:

(62) Video sam da ne voli mačku.
(62E) I saw that he disliked the cat.

A sentence like:

(62Ea) *I saw him dislike the cat.

would equally be unacceptable in English.

10.2. The other type of mistake would be common for all learners of English whose mother tongue does not make use of non-finites to complement the object: they may simply confuse the English constructions.

10.2.1. So they may use the infinitive without to where, in fact, the to is needed, and thus produce sentences marked as (a). E.g.:

(63) I forced him to go.
(63a) *I forced him go.

or use to where it is not needed. E.g.:

(64) I made him go.
(64a) *I made him to go.

10.2.2. They may confuse the constructions with the infinitive and those with the present participle, and by doing so either disregard the distinctions such constructions carry, as in:

(65) I saw the thief run away.

and (66) I saw the thief running away.

or produce sentences wholly unacceptable in English, such as illustrated by the following pairs of sentences:

(67) I let him do that.
(67a) *I let him doing that.

or

(68) I kept him standing there.
(68a) *I kept him to stand there.

10.2.3. They may equally confuse the structure involving the past participle with that of the present perfect and so instead of saying:

(69) Have you ever seen an animal wounded?

they are likely to produce:

(70) Have you ever seen a wounded animal?

which, of course, does not carry the same meaning in English.[4]

NOTES

1. I am very grateful to Wayles Browne for this formulation.

2. With 'da' as the sentence connector, the object pronoun is obligatorily deleted. A sentence like * 'Video sam ga da je prešao ulicu' does not appear to be acceptable in SC.

3. I am indebted to Wayles Browne for drawing my attention to the difference between these constructions, and for supplying me with the examples.

4. The verbs GET and HAVE have not been taken into consideration in this paper. Owing to their idiosyncratic nature they need to be treated separately.

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ADVERBIALS WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

1. Introduction

1.1. In this paper we propose to deal with transitive verbs accompanied by one or two objects and one or more adverbial modifiers.[1] This means that we will refrain from repeating any of the facts already mentioned in connection with adverbials occurring with intransitive verbs that are also valid for adverbials occurring in sentences with transitive verbs. In fact, nothing much can be said about the morphological features of adverbials, in English (E) and Serbo-Croatian (SC), whether they appear in the form of simple adverbials (Adv), prepositional phrases (PrP), or noun phrases (NP), that has not been mentioned in connection with intransitive verbs. Therefore, we shall concentrate our attention upon the position of adverbial modifiers (AM's) within the sentence or clause, both in E and SC. Here we expect to find certain differences and sources of difficulties for learners of E.

1.2. Even in E, of all the parts of speech, adverbials demonstrate the greatest mobility within the frames of the sentence. Some of the adverbs can take as many as four positions.

The situation concerning the possible position of AM's, and word order in general, at first sight may seem to be almost chaotic in SC, a language which many authors claim has no fixed word order at all. Indeed, in SC word order

is more a stylistic than a syntactic feature.

Nevertheless, some rules can be established. Although most of them refer to the position of the enclitic and the position of verbs in relation to their subjects, these rules will also have influence on the position of adverbials. Apart from a few syntactic rules, word order in SC is only under the influence of the rules of rhythm, or prominence, or what Halliday calls 'textual function'[2].

1.3. In her report Lj. Vojnović proposes the following scheme for the possible position of AM's in E:

(i) post-verb
(ii) pre-verb
(iii) after the (first) auxiliary
(iv) pre-subject

This scheme is equally valid for transitive as well as for intransitive verbs in E, but for practical reasons - since there can be one or two elements more in sentences with transitive verbs - another scheme will be used both for E and SC:

initial	(pre-subject)
medial	(after the first auxiliary, if there is one, otherwise before the verb[3])
final	(post verb - object/objects) (between the verb and its object) (between the two objects)

2. Initial Position

2.1. Initial position is the least frequent position for adverbials in E. Time adverbials may take this position, although post-verb or sentence-final is their usual position and, so to speak, a more neutral one.

When AM's appear in initial position they are either emphasized or used in contrast with what had been said previously[4]:

(1) That very moment he saw a dim light in the distance.
(1SC) Istoga trenutka ugleda nejasnu svetlost u daljini.

(2) Now Mrs. Green hardly ever plays tennis.
(2SC) Gospodja Green jedva da ikad zaigra tenis sada.

Initial position of some other AM's may involve change in word order[5]:

(3) Hardly ever can we see a bird in this poluted city.
(3SC) Jedva da ikad možemo videti pticu u ovom zagadjenom gradu.

or in function:

(4) Curiously, he greeted me.
(4SC) Pozdravio me je, na moje iznenadjenje.

Here curiously is a sentence modifier and the example (4) is not identical with the sentence (5):

(5) He greeted me curiously.
(5SC) Pozdravio me je radoznalo.

However, it should be noted that in E also, as in SC, time adverbials can be used in initial position without being especially emphasized or contrasted:

(6) Yesterday we had tea with the Smiths.

2.2. In SC adverbials of all kinds take the initial position. In the examples:

(7) Radoznalo me je pogledao.

and

(8) Pogledao me je radoznalo.

the adverb radoznalo is equally prominent and both sentences can be rendered into E as:

(7, 8E) He looked at me curiously.

Here are some more examples with different kinds of AM's in initial position in SC together with their renderings in E:

(9) Na licu im se ne vidi ni traga zavisti.
(9E) Not a trace of envy can be seen on their faces.

(10) Tako ga beše obuzela stranačka mržnja da nije ni primetio mraka oko sebe.
(10E) He was so occupied by the party animosity that he did not even notice the darkness surrounding him.

(11) Posle časa ćeš mi se javiti.
(11E) Report to me after class.

2.3. In connection with the initial position of AM's in SC, attention should be drawn to the phenomenon of deletability of the subject, which also adds to the complexity of the already intricate situation with AM's in SC sentences. Namely, the occurrence of AM's in initial position can be influenced by whether the subject is deleted or not. If the subject is expressed, AM's consisting of single adverbs seem to take the initial position less frequently. The reason can easily be found in the rhythmic pattern of SC in which the second position in the sentence is the least stressed one. The subject, being a strongly stressed element, does not, as a rule, take that position. If, however, the subject is deleted, the initial position of Adv's is quite correct and rather frequent.

(12) Često sam ga slušao kako prepričava taj dogadjaj sa nesmanjenim užívanjem.
(12E) I often listened to him telling the same story over and over again with undiminished pleasure.

However, the example:

(12-a) Često ja sam ga slušao ....

can hardly be labelled "ungrammatical", or even "incorrect", but rather "in

bad style" or "not obeying the rhythmic rules of the language".

If, on the other hand, the AM consists of a PrP or NP, then AM's in initial position with the subject following them are fully acceptable because a phrase consists of a stress unit, or tone group, normally followed by a short pause, so that another strongly stressed word, or phrase may come after it:

(13) Uz veliku buku i galamu, on je pozdravio svog starog prijatelja.

but not, except as (12-a) above:

(13-a) Tiho on je pozdravio svog starog prijatelja.

It also would not be correct to say:

(13-b) Uz veliku buku i galamu, je pozdravio ...

because in the last example the enclitic takes the position in which a strongly stressed word is expected. By inverting the order of the auxiliary and the main verb a better stylistic effect can be achieved:

(13-c) Uz veliku buku i galamu pozdravio je svog starog prijatelja.

(13-d) Tiho je pozdravio .....

is of course a correct and well-formed SC sentence.

2.3.1. From the SC examples quoted so far it can be easily seen that initial position of AM's is rather frequent in this language, certainly more frequent than sentence-final. Because of that it can be expected that learners of E as L_t will often make mistakes concerning the position of AM's in E bacuse they will tend to place them in the same position AM's occupy in SC. It should be, however, noted here that the initial position is possible in E also with non-time AM's, but far less frequently than in SC.

(14) S velikom pažnjom prati sadašnje dogadjaje.
(14E) He follows current events with great interest.

(15) Brzo se prilagodio svom novom položaju.
(15E) He soon adapted himself to his new position.

(16) Uz vašu pomoć brzo ćemo moći da obavimo posao.
(16E) With your help we will soon be able to finish our work.

3. Final Position

3.1. Post verb + object/objects position is the one in which E adverbials occur most often, regardless of whether they follow intransitive verbs or transitive verbs together with their objects.

AM's of place almost invariably take this position:

(17) I left the book on your desk.
(17SC) Ostavio sam knjigu na tvom stolu.

(18) He gave me the letter in the corridor.
(18SC) Predao mi je pismo u hodniku.

(19) I saw her at the station.
(19SC) Videla sam je na stanici.

AM's of manner and degree are also often found in this position and then they are more prominent than when used in media. position:

(20) The teacher repremanded the boy severely.
(20SC) Učitelj je strogo ukorio dečaka.

(21) She readily lent me her book.
(21-a) She lent me her book readily.
(21SC) Spremno mi je posudila svoju knjigu.

(22) She proudly announced her engagement.
(22-a) She announced her engagement proudly.
(22SC) Ponosno je objavila svoju veridbu.

3.1.1. In some cases the medial position, however, is the only position possible for these adverbials since final position would bring about a change of meaning:

(23) The fellow rudely refused to speak to anyone.
(23SC) Grubo je odbio da bilo sa kim razgovara.

(23-a) The fellow refused to speak to anyone rudely.
(23-aSC) Odbio je da bilo sa kim grubo razgovara.

Still, the alteration final position - medial position need not always involve a change of meaning:

(24) I don't like modern music very much.
(24SC) Ne volim baš mnogo modernu muziku.

(25) I don't much like the idea of leaving dry land.
(25SC) Ne svidja mi se mnogo ideja o napuštanju čvrstog tla.

AM's of time, aside from the occasional initial position, usually take the final position in E:

(26) The new teacher gave us his first lesson this morning.

In SC this sentence will certainly sound better with the AM in initial rather than final position:

(26SC) Jutros nam je novi učitelj održao prvi čas.
(26SC-a) Novi učitelj održao nam je prvi čas jutros.

although medial position is equally possible and seems here to be the most neutral one:

(26SC-b) Novi učitelj nam je jutros održao prvi čas.

The example:

(27) They do not sell such things any longer.

can be very well used to demonstrate how mobile different parts of the sentence in SC are. It would be tedious to enumerate all the possible SC renderings of this sentence here[6]. In E the only way to change the position of the AM in this sentence would also involve inversion or a change in negation:

(27-a) No longer do they sell such things.
(27-b) They no longer sell such things.

3.2. The other two positions, i.e., between the verb and its object/objects and between the two objects are very rare in E and many practical grammars warn students against the use of AM's in such position. AM's in the position between the verbs and their objects, if at all possible, are either characteristic of a highly rhetorical, slightly antiquated style, as in the following example:

(28) Across the court I saw again, as I had seen so often, the lighted windows of the hall, and above the roof of the Master's lodge the evening star like a silver lamp hung low in the western sky.

or, which is most often the case, they are caused by the length of the object, or by its being modified by another phrase or clause. This is at the same time the reason why an adverbial can quite exceptionally be placed between the two objects:

(29) Please give me before Monday the money you owe me.

With AM's of manner:

(30) The Anglo-American Magazine, for example, cites with approval Dickens's remark that the American eagle should be drawn "like a bat, for its short-sightedness; like a bantam, for its bragging; like a magpie, for its honesty; like a peacock, for its vanity."

(31) It is even more surprising that Goldin abandons without comment the principle of recoverable deletion.

(32) ... it captures directly the intuitively correct assumption that rounding, nasalization, etc. are intrinsically marked properties.

With AM's of place:

(33) After I had stacked my shirts and underclothes in two empty drawers, I decided to hang in the cupboard one of the two suits I had brought with me.

(34) ... should we postulate in generative phonology underlying segments which are identical to those of traditional phonemics ...

With AM's of time:

(35) Please return before the end of the term all the books that you have borrowed from the library.

From the above-cited examples it can be easily seen that they are all almost exclusively limited to the written language. When rendered into SC with the same position of AM's those examples produce sentences with perfectly normal unemphasized word order. Here are some of them:

(28SC) Preko dvorišta videh ponovo, kao što sam tako često vidjao, osvetljene prozore trpezarije, a iznad krova upravnikovog stana, večernjaču, kao srebrnu svetiljku nisko okačenu na zapadu.

(29SC) Molim te, vrati mi pre ponedeljka novac koji mi duguješ.

(30SC) Anglo-američki magazin, na primer, navodi sa odobravanjem Dikensovu primedbu da bi američkog orla trebalo crtati ...

(33SC) Pošto sam poslagao košulje i donje rublje u dve prazne ladice, odlučio sam da okačim u orman jedno od ona dva odela koja sam doneo sa sobom.

(35SC) Molim vas, vratite pre kraja semestra sve knjige koje ste pozajmili iz biblioteke.

3.2.1. Not all AM's in E can take the position between the verb and its objects or between the two objects. AM's of frequency cannot occur in this position, nor can those Advs of time which often take the initial position, like tomorrow, yesterday, etc.

* We got last night a telegram from Uncle Albert.

* We receive often letters from our friends who live abroad.

Also hard, soon, and those AM's of manner which usually take the medial position, like barely, bravely, manfully, suddenly, stupidly, etc., can hardly ever appear in this position.

* He kept back bravely his tears during the whole operation.

3.3. The position of AM's between the verb and its object, or between the two objects is nothing unusual in SC and can be frequently met with all kinds of AM's. Such examples are equally characteristic of both spoken and written SC.

(36) Napisao je na brzinu nekoliko redaka.
(36E) He hastily wrote down two or three lines.

(37) Upoznao je za svoga života mnoge poznate ljude.
(37E) In his life-time he met many famous men.

(38) Saopštio mi je radosno najnovije vesti.
(38E) He merrily told me the latest news.

4. Medial Position

4.1. The medial position, i.e., the position of AM's after the first auxiliary, if there is one, otherwise before the verb, is often taken in E by the AM's of frequency and by semi-negatives:

(39) I often lend her my books.
(39SC) Često joj pozajmljujem svoje knjige.

(40) I have sometimes told you lies.
(40SC) Ponekad sam te lagala.

(41) I rarely see her.
(41SC) Retko je vidjam.

Advs of manner can take this position, although they appear both in the initial and sentence-final position as well:

(42) He suddenly threw up his hands and sneezed.
(42SC) Iznenada je podigao ruke i kinuo.

4.2. It is very difficult to say anything definite about the medial position of AM's in SC because, since the position of sentence elements in SC is interchangeable, the AM's can easily occupy any position within the sentence after the first word and before the last one:

Between the auxiliary and the main verb:

(43) Ja sam često posmatrao ovaj prekrasni predeo.

Between the subject and the main verb:

(44) On često šeta pored Dunava.

Between the subject and the object:

(45) Posmatrao bi on često ovaj prekrasni predeo.

Between the object and the verb:

(46) Ovaj prekrasni predeo često sam posmatrao.

Between the verb and the direct object:

(47) Posmatrao sam često ovaj prekrasni predeo.

Between the indirect and the direct object:

(48) Pokazivao bi joj često svoje radove.

4.3. The medial position of AM's both in E and SC is most liable to cause difficulties for learners of E for three main reasons: firstly, they often misplace adverbials of frequency and some adverbials of manner and degree that can appear in all the three positions within the sentence, but often take the pre-verb position, or the position after the first auxiliary, if there is one. Secondly, they are often ignorant of the inverted order of the subject and the auxiliary after negative and semi-negative adverbials, if they are placed in

the initial position, regardless of whether they are simple Adv or PrP (like: seldom, never, hardly, rarely, at no time, etc.), and thirdly, they tend to keep AM's in the same position they have in SC. As a result, they often produce incorrect sentences of the type:

* I have shown her often my works.
* I have admired often this wonderful panorama.
* Never I have seen him before.
* In hardly any of the cities they saw so many parks.

However, it is not enough only to draw the students' attention to the fact that the AM's in E are not so 'free' as they are in SC, because that might discourage them from placing their AM's anywhere else but at the very end of the sentence:

* We hear such fine singing from school choirs seldom.

5. Conclusion

5.1. At the present stage it is very difficult to say anything definite about the contrastive analysis of syntactic features of adverbials in E and SC. It can be only said with certainty that the placing of adverbials in SC is much freer than in E, although some limitations concerning the position of adverbials within the sentence and the word order in general do exist in SC as well. However those limitations - it is hardly possible to call them rules - are thought to be more rhythmic, stylistic and idiosyncratic in nature.
From the syntactic point of view the problem of adverbials has hardly been touched upon in SC linguistic science, the latest study concerning word order in SC dating from the year 1888[7]. This is at the same time the reason why it is impossible to come to any general conclusions in the present paper.

6. Pedagogical Implications

6.1. The ability to use and place AM's in E correctly cannot be sufficiently mastered by the students of E as L_t at an early stage. The reasons for this are twofold: certain morphological and lexical features of AM's in E and their position in frames of E and SC sentences.

6.2. In order to acquire the necessary skills in handling the adverbials the students should be drilled from the very beginning in two ways. Their attention should be drawn to the morphological and lexical difficulties and differences between E adverbials and their SC counterparts. The students should also be provided with lists of adverbials that are sources of mistakes. The skill of placing adverbials in their right position can be attained by drilling first with exercises of the type: "Put the adverb or the adverbial phrase in the correct place in the sentence". The next step is to proceed to longer texts and supply the missing adverbials in them.

NOTES

1. Intransitive verbs, i.e., all those verbs occurring without an object, or those with which the object is deleted have already been treated in Ljubica Vojnović's report "Adverbial Modifiers in Intransitive Sentences in English and Serbo-Croatian". Reports 4, pp. 125-147.
2. M.A.K. Halliday "Language Structure and Language Function" in J. Lyons, ed., New Horizons in Linguistics. - London, 1970.
3. Sentence AM's however, cannot follow immediately after the negation. Thus, instead of * He didn't certainly finish his work, the correct position of certainly will be before the auxiliary: He certainly didn't finish his work. In affirmative sentences sentence AM's can appear both before and after the auxiliary: He has certainly finished his work, and He certainly has finished his work.

4. Adv like yesterday, tomorrow, etc., have already been dealt with in Lj. Vojnović's report.

5. This is true of the semi-negative AM's.

6. Here are all the possible renderings in SC:

(Oni) ne prodaju te stvari više.
(Oni) više ne prodaju te stvari.
(Oni) ne prodaju više te stvari.
(Oni) ne prodaju te stvari više.
(Oni) te stvari više ne prodaju.
Ne prodaju (oni) više te stvari.
Ne prodaju više (oni) te stvari.
Ne prodaju te stvari (oni) više.
Ne prodaju te stvari više (oni).
Ne prodaju više te stvari (oni).
Ne prodaju (oni) te stvari više.
Te stvari (oni) više ne prodaju.
Te stvari (oni) ne prodaju više.
Te stvari više (oni) ne prodaju.
Te stvari ne prodaju više (oni).
Te stvari više ne prodaju (oni).
Te stvari ne prodaju (oni) više.
Više (oni) te stvari ne prodaju.
Više te stvari (oni) ne prodaju.
Više te stvari ne prodaju (oni).
Više (oni) ne prodaju te stvari.
Više ne prodaju (oni) te stvari.
Više ne prodaju te stvari (oni).
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THE YUGOSLAV SERBO-CROATIAN - ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PROJECT

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